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This document is an edited transcript of speeches and other proceedings from the 1968 New Orleans Upward Bound Conference. Upward Bound is a federally-sponsored program for preparing students from low-income families for admission to college. At the conference representatives from federal agencies and educators with significant institutional responsibilities met to discuss ideas for Upward Bound's response to the urban crisis and issues related to black power. Deliberations focused on a resolution proposed by Negro conferees that all programs with a plurality of black students should be directed by a black project director, preferably male. (LB)

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Synopsis of
UPWARD BOUND WINTER CONFERENCE

Hotel Sheraton-Charles
New Orleans, Louisiana

JANUARY 16-19, 1968

Sponsored by
THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

FOREWORD

This document is the official synopsis of the New Orleans Winter Conference sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity's UPWARD BOUND project. It is, in a sense, a report on the race between "education and disaster."

Now that the Conference deliberations have been sifted and formalized in this document, the second lap of the race is about to begin. That lap involves the discussion and review of the Conference recommendations by Mr. Shriver, Dr. Flemming and the National UPWARD BOUND Advisory Council. The Council may choose to endorse the Conference recommendations without modification in which case the task of developing the language and procedures of implementation would fall to the National UPWARD BOUND office.

On the other hand, the National Council may wish to modify or reject the Conference recommendations. Though I personally vigorously support the intent of the recommendations, I would not assume that my support is shared by the members of the Council until they have been given an opportunity to review the Conference deliberations at length. Prior to that review, there will be no changes in the UPWARD BOUND Guidelines or policy memoranda.

From my own point of view the Winter Conference was a remarkable success; it was, at least, a modest victory for humanity. I am persuaded that if the spirit of the New Orleans Winter Conference could be generated or re-created across the country, we would take a giant's stride toward The Great Society.

The enormous task of editing and compiling this synopsis from the 1200-page Conference record was undertaken by Mr. Michael Lipsky of the University of Wisconsin.

Thomas A. Billings
March 1968

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INTRODUCTION

In editing this report I have tried to extract from the transcripts of the New Orleans UPWARD BOUND conference the essence of the debates, discussions, soliloquies and polemics that comprised four days of intense grappling with issues of overwhelming importance in American social life. The Office of Economic Opportunity brought together approximately 100 people, with varying educational philosophies, January 16-19 at the Sheraton-Charles Hotel in New Orleans. Most had been connected with UPWARD BOUND in some capacity. The rest were associated with other programs or institutions focusing upon the problems of education for the disadvantaged. Diversity of personality and ability to contribute provocatively seem to have been the criteria for selection of participants.

Unlike other conferences, where speeches follow panels in orderly progression and positions on issues are authoritatively restated by distinguished conference guests, this was a working conference. Unlike most conferences, an extraordinary proportion of the participants became involved in the issues and attempted to articulate their positions at the same time that they tried to deal with the challenges their positions evoked. It is regrettable that the contributions of a great many individuals are obscured by the transcript designation "From the Floor."

It was also a working conference in the sense that there was vigorous and honest debate over significant issues. The excitement generated by the day's discussion and the relevance of the issues debated energized the non-conference hours of the meetings, so that the talk in the hotel lobbies and in restaurants over lunch and dinner resembled that of a convention. It was perhaps these aspects of the week's events to which Dr. Billings referred when he suggested in his closing remarks that this was "the only conference" he had ever attended.

Originally charged with the task of developing ideas for UPWARD BOUND's response to the urban crisis, conference participants quickly agreed that UPWARD BOUND could not meaningfully attempt to contain or prevent riots. But having said this, it was recognized that there were both short run and long run responses in which UPWARD BOUND programs could conscientiously engage. In the short run, programs can help students understand the dynamics of American race relations so that they may gain perspective on events in which they may become caught up. Programs can innovate to assure and reassure students that program and staff commitments are long-lasting and transcend the racial tensions that riots may introduce to urban communities. Programs can develop ways in which students, parents and members of low-income communities increasingly come to accept UPWARD BOUND as their program, and thus may support it with greater intensity under difficult circumstances and periods of civic strain.

In the long run, UPWARD BOUND can respond to a recognition of the urban crisis by improving aspects of the program which directly relate to concerns of the black revolution. In the areas of staffing, of parental relations and services, and of community influence in program planning, UPWARD BOUND can innovate, as one aspect of the poverty program, to respond to legitimate desires of the black community for responsibility, visibility, responsiveness and power in those programs significantly affecting black communities. These considerations, refined, detailed, and articulated with greater passion, are revealed in the section of this report summarizing the Group Sessions, and are debated at length in excerpts from The Plenaries.

Yet to indicate the high participation rates in meetings, or to summarize some of the substantive developments, is still to miss the importance of the Winter Conference. Ultimately, the Winter Conference should be remembered as one of the first occasions on which federal agency representatives and many individuals with significant institutional responsibilities came together and constructively confronted issues of black power. At issue specifically was the resolution proposed by Negro conference participants, convening as a "black caucus," that all programs with a majority (later plurality) of black students should be co-directed (later directed) by a black project director, preferably male. In one sense this resolution can be construed as merely reaffirming previously articulated UPWARD BOUND policy. UPWARD BOUND philosophy has long affirmed the importance of providing minority group youngsters with "role models" with whom they can identify. But in other senses, the resolution disturbed some conference participants. While few remarks were heard directly attacking the spirit of the resolution, vigorous objections were raised on the grounds that merit should be the only criterion on which directors are chosen, and that sometimes white project directors prove to be better than other available candidates. A reverse racism was detected by some conferees, who declared that they had long fought to eliminate racial designations in employment, and would not stop now. The impact of the resolution on current programs with white project directors was debated, as well as the impact on institutions which might not comply with the resolution on either liberal or conservative racial grounds. These issues are articulated in the excerpts of this report from The Plenaries.

Toward the end, debate also focused on the meaning of passing such a resolution. Would the "black caucus" resolution be considered a recommendation by OEO? Or would the apparent racial absolutism of the resolution require OEO to reject it, thereby minimizing the influence of the Winter Conference deliberations? By the end of Thursday afternoon, the conference had passed a resolution affirming the desirability of having black directors in projects with pluralities of black students and reiterating the sense of the "black caucus" resolution for programs with pluralities of other ethnic or racial groups.

The heated debate of Thursday dissolved on Friday morning in the moderating spirit of Joel Fleishman's conference wrap-up. All other things being equal, he reasoned, does it not make sense to have a director whose abilities and sensibilities typify the qualities we would like UPWARD BOUND students to emulate? And for black students, all other things being equal, does it not make sense that this individual is most likely to communicate with students if he is black himself? And has this not, in part, been the philosophy of UPWARD BOUND all along?

This moderation was also reflected in Dr. Billings' closing remarks, when he indicated that he considered the conference a success, that he would take under serious advisement its recommendations, and that he felt confident that conference participants would soon see the fruits of their deliberations translated into policy. This moderation in interpretation of the resolution was not ad hoc but clearly followed from the positions of many of the conference participants, who stressed in debate that the resolutions made sense educationally and could be adopted by OEO without abandoning those white project directors who have demonstrated their ability and dedicated themselves to the program in recent years.

It is unfortunate that the limited press coverage of the conference stressed the (quite real) personal anguish of some of the conference participants at the expense of stressing the importance of the constructive confrontation with the black power issues. At a time when the daily headlines suggest increasing polarization between Negro militants and white liberals, a conference was being held in New Orleans of people who, for the most part, were willing to consider translation of slogans into public policy. To do so they had to abandon postures and recognize legitimate political and programmatic limitations. Instead of developing hysterical reactions to a fancied black fascism (as has characterized other confrontations with militant black demands in the recent past), whites evaluated their own positions, considered the extent to which they could agree with the sense of the "black caucus" resolution, and attempted to articulate a position which would express their agreement without capitulating to considerations they considered indefensible. Black conference participants, in turn, had to steer a course between militant projection of their felt needs, and the realities of UPWARD BOUND. Thus they initially projected the possibility of establishing co-directorships, recognized in debate the importance of white project directors' contributions, and raised no objections when white speakers qualified the resolution by insisting that it was not an absolutist directive.

Perhaps most important, there was talk between white and black. As the excerpts from The Plenaries reveal, positions were fully articulated without the kinds of fears which frequently inhibit honesty in dialogues today between black and white liberals. Not revealed by the transcript excerpts are the exchanges that took place away from the microphones. Among black conferees, positions had to be worked out, the meaning of militance debated, and the importance of making sense as well as demands explored. The high quality of the Black Position Paper is testimony to the profitable outcome of those deliberations. Among white conferees, private as well as public debates were waged concerning the meaning of the black positions and the appropriateness of possible responses. There was constant interaction among all conferees in attempting to assess the meaning of their activities as they were unfolding.

In editing the transcripts, I have tried to reveal the richness of the Winter Conference. It is perhaps fitting to conclude here by observing that an extraordinary number of conference participants listed in the appendix made substantial contributions to an enterprise which truly must be designated a "group effort." It was an effort which suggests that black power may yet crystalize issues to which all Americans can respond.

Michael Lipsky
March 1968

II. CONFERENCE SPEECHES AND REMARKS

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS by Thomas A. Billings
National Director UPWARD BOUND
January 16, 1968 Office of Economic Opportunity

Perhaps we should try to be more helpful to the broader community than we have in the past. We have been pretty busy just making sure that our projects ran well. At this point, perhaps, we should try to be a little more helpful to the high schools and colleges and universities in the United States. If we have found out something in UPWARD BOUND, we might want to share it beyond our own little "in" group.

The National Advisory Council of UPWARD BOUND has recommended that UPWARD BOUND go from 23,000 youngsters to 100,000 youngsters as soon as possible.

In the formal endorsement of the National Advisory Council, Dr. Flemming announced to the press that he thought 100,000 a very modest increase in number for UPWARD BOUND. If we could increase, in the next few years, to 100,000 that would bring 1,000 universities and colleges in UPWARD BOUND and 10,000 high schools.

I don't like to equate size with quality but I don't think that we can rest with 23,000 when there are 600,000, at least, in our pool. So, we are shooting for 100,000 and that has been formally endorsed by the Council. I am somewhat optimistic, in the next few years, that we will reach that goal.

The campuses have responded to the program well and there are 577 colleges and universities in UPWARD BOUND now admitting youngsters. With the exception of two or three schools, among the 250 currently funded, only two or three are thinking of opting out. That is an excellent record as far as institutional commitments is concerned.

...My motives [for calling the conference] were these:

I think that our country is approaching or is already in one of the most acute crises in its history. It is a subtle crisis. The pieces aren't clear to anybody. I don't think that anybody doubts that we are approaching or are already in a crisis, and I don't believe that I am a "crisis monger". I would like to think that everything looked good and that we could look forward to a decade of great prosperity and generosity and good will, but I don't really believe that we have that ahead of us. We may have if we continue to talk about it and prepare for it and think of ways to make it that kind of a decade.

I believe that in the next few years, to quote Alexander Meiklejohn, "We Americans will be either very great or we will be pitifully mean and contemptible." I think that we are on the verge of becoming one or the other--"very great or pitifully mean and contemptible".

I believe that those of us who work with the young people in this country are more intimately and more acutely involved in the crisis than any other segment of the society. In a way, this is a young crisis--the crisis of the young. It is a crisis of the old and young, but the young are vitally involved in this and those of us who work with them can probably be pulled into that involvement, and we should be.

I believe that if we fail in our commitments, withdraw from our involvements, we run the risk of becoming the most "pitifully mean and contemptible" of the lot. I would hate to see America's school people fink out--the elementary school teachers, the high school teachers, the college profs--I would hate to see them bug out.

I believe that UPWARD BOUND is, by its very nature, close to the center of the storm. It is a high-risk program. We have been talking about high-risk kids. I am not sure that I have ever met a high-risk kid. I have met some high-risk responses to kids.

I believe that by intelligence and hard work we may be able to redirect some of the potentially destructive elements of the storm around us and turn them into their opposites. If my instincts are at all accurate, the social unrest which prevails in our society will become increasingly a problem for UPWARD BOUND. My communications with PD's [Project Directors] across the country reinforce that instinct.

We asked the PD's--all of them--to write [about] the problems that they have experienced during the last couple of years in their programs with racial and other kinds of difficulties. I think we have a letter from almost every Project Director in the country enumerating the problems they had had or feared that they were going to have. So, my instincts about the next decade, at least about the next three or four years, have been reinforced by this communication from the Project Directors.

Thanks to intelligence and hard work and, probably, some luck, we have had few difficulties--explosive difficulties--destructive difficulties--to date. That is another reason for this conference. We may know some things that we are not aware of as yet that we can talk about and make available to people beyond UPWARD BOUND.

...The questions that I want this conference to address are these:

Is there anything that we can do to assist school men, high school teachers, college faculties and administrators and Project Directors to minimize the potential destructive energy of racial unrest which pervades the society?

That is rhetoric, but I hope that the question is clear to you. Is there anything that we can do, as a group of people who are concerned, to be of some assistance in minimizing the destructive energies around us?

Another question: Are there strategies or suggestions that might be given to the school men now to allow them to head off destructive tensions during the run of our programs next summer? Are there strategies or ways that they can minimize possible tensions that might arise next summer?

I am not sure that we have answers to the questions, but those are the questions that haunt me and I am asked from time to time for advice--frequently, I have no advice at all.

Another question: Should OEO and UPWARD BOUND prepare guidelines for host colleges dealing with the experiences and strategies used to date and amplified out of this conference? If so, what are those guidelines? Or, do we have anything to say to host colleges beyond "good luck". I would not want to admit that that is all we have to say. After two years of operation we should have learned something.

Another question: Is there a way to involve Black militants constructively in UPWARD BOUND? Should we try it? That is a very honest question and I would like to have you all address it. Is there a way to involve Black militants and Black separatists in UPWARD BOUND constructively? The second part of that question--should we even try? If not, why?

What should Project Directors do when racial tensions do become explosive on a campus or in an UPWARD BOUND project during the residential summer? Have we got anything to say ahead of time that would be of help in that situation?

San Francisco State College people are here--I think that there are three of them--and they have recently lived through a difficulty out on their campus. UPWARD BOUND was not really involved as a project but it is the kind of situation that UPWARD BOUND could become involved in rather quickly.

If by close of business on Friday I have twenty intelligent pages in response to these questions, I will consider the Winter Conference a success. As I look at you, I am guardedly optimistic. This conference is structured only in terms of the persons invited to be here and a half a dozen questions. You are a mixed bag. I tried to invite at least half a dozen points of view--militant, conservative, a reactionary or two, those bewildered, some romantics, some naives, some Democrats, some Republicans and a Whig.

I do not expect you to reach a consensus here. I would expect you to come up with twenty intelligent pages that would be useful to the Agency and to the program and beyond that.

I have asked Joel Fleishman and Frank Garcia to serve as official observers and to provide a wrap-up at the close of these deliberations.

Joel and Frank are both lawyers and are both durably committed to UPWARD BOUND. They are from opposite sides of the nation. They are from dissimilar ethnic groups. They are from different social and cultural backgrounds. Their job is to listen carefully for four days and then do an intelligent wrap-up of these deliberations on Friday.

I want this to be a working conference. I would rather that you made sense than a speech. We have asked a few people to make formal comments but it is still a working conference so I want you to feel free to work them over when they make those formal comments.

I have nothing much more to say. I plan to be silent during the next four days. I do want to be smarter, brighter and better after Friday. I want to know more. I am going to listen.

I don't plan to go too often down to Bourbon Street. I went there last night and watched the 377-pound girl and that is enough of that and it will last me for a week. This is my first time here in New Orleans and I had to go to Bourbon Street at least once. I think that I will stick pretty close to the conference from now on and I would encourage you to do that too...

Thank you very much.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

by Harry Groves
President, Central State University
Wilberforce, Ohio

January 16, 1968

I well understand and appreciate the fact that I was invited here to speak to you today because my university has endured one of the more recent riots. As you know, there is absolutely nothing, I find, like a campus riot to give a college or university national exposure. That may be its only useful purpose.

Since I did recognize that was your reason for inviting me, I thought that it would be appropriate to devote these few minutes to some rather thorough analysis of our problem, perhaps putting it , or attempting to put it, in a larger context. But, then, when I realized that I would probably be able to stay for the full extent of this conference, it occurred to me that if I did tell you all about our riot in fifteen minutes from this podium there wouldn't be anything left for me to say, and probably could scarcely earn my keep for the rest of this conference.

So, I think, instead I shall make myself available to you either at this time, after I have finished talking or in the sessions throughout the remaining days that we will be together to discuss with those of you who may be particularly interested in the anatomy of our problems, recent problems.

What I wish to do in the brief time that I intend to stand here is simply to discuss the present situation, which I am choosing at this moment to call the BLACK REVOLUTION, but in what I think is its wider context, and I am really apologetic to have to admit that I am not going to say anything that I think any single person here doesn't already know, but I think one function of this so-called keynote address can perform is to state some rather general and broad principles from which individual and more detailed discussion might be launched, and so that is what I propose to do.

WHICH DIRECTION FOR THE BLACK REVOLUTION?

Education for Negroes, the nation's largest disadvantaged group, can, of course, be looked at in many ways. One perspective is historical. On the time span continuum it appears that there have been only four significant periods.

The first is the period which preceded the Civil War. In this era, when public education was little known in the South and was developing in the North, there was no education for slaves in the South and virtually none for the few free men of color there. In the North, free Negroes were beginning to secure their rights to public education. Many people do not know, or have forgotten, that one of the first cases seeking to establish the educational rights of Negroes arose in Boston and is styled Roberts v. Massachusetts, having been decided by Massachusetts' highest court in 1849. Other early cases attacking Northern educational discrimination arose in Ohio, California, Indiana and Nevada.

The second era of Negro education in America falls in the rather long period from the end of the Civil War to 1954 when the Supreme Court decided the school segregation cases. This was the period in which the Negro was concerned first with getting some education and only gradually with getting a better education, one more nearly equal to that provided for white people. It is scarcely surprising that the Negroes' early concern was more with quantity, that is some education, than with quality. Released by emancipation into an environment which was indifferent at best and, in the South, hostile or worse, without the most basic educational tools of literacy and numbers, the problem of the vast majority of ex-slaves was to acquire enough education to survive. Few could be concerned with education for culture, education for leisure or education for any other number of worthy but, in their depressed condition, esoteric purposes.

Nor did American society greatly concern itself with the enormous problem. Negroes who were in the North, or made their way there, could secure for themselves and their children such educational opportunities as their economic conditions permitted. But for people who left the plantations with nothing but the rags on their backs and no resource but the strength of those backs, taking advantage of apparently available educational opportunities was often little more than a hope and a dream.

In the South, missionary groups, largely from the North, tried to approach the needs; but philanthropic resources were in no sense equal to the task, while the infamous separate but equal doctrine gave the South a device to rob Negro children of educational opportunity. As late as the 1950's I was in a county in Eastern North Carolina where the "white" school was a consolidated one, a modern handsome large brick campus arrangement served by school buses. The nearby "Negro" school was consolidated, too. All grades were taught in one room, which also contained the "library," a broken down shelf with a few books. The heating arrangement was handy; it was a pot-bellied coal stove in the middle of the room. The room was air conditioned, however. It was quite literally possible to see unimpeded daylight in every direction, through the walls, the roof and the wooden floor. The tragedy was not alone that any county in any state of the United States should have provided such an education in the 1950's for any child, the tragedy was compounded by the unbelievable fact that that county was preparing to resist a lawsuit seeking Negro entry into the "white" school on the separate but equal theory.

Many countries have discriminated against some element of the population in terms of educational opportunity. The Belgians provided almost no education for Congolese natives. The Dutch severely limited the education of the Indonesians while they were the colonial masters. But at least their policies were open and honest. Only in America was a whole race of people handicapped for generations under a cruelly cynical and blatantly hypocritical official policy that pretended equality in that which was utterly, totally unequal.

Throughout those ninety years, from the end of the Civil War to the cases which declared the separate but equal doctrine to be a violation of the United States Constitution, the Negro in the South took the meager educational resources allotted him and did the best that he could with them. And he fled to the North, in an endless stream, most often seeking a better educational chance for himself and his children.

During this long period, the Southern Negro observed the fine public schools for white children. He glimpsed occasionally, and from a distance, their great universities, and he felt that if he could but take his place in them, his ultimate goal of freedom, of opportunity, would be achieved. He lived the life of segregation, and his dream was integration.

The Northern Negro, from experience, knew better; but he seldom articulated the fact. He knew that integrated education did not mean equal vocational opportunity. Many a Negro graduate of Northern universities found his best job opportunities as a clerk in the post office, or as a dining car waiter on a railroad. Many a Negro graduate of a Northern law school made his living driving a taxicab. Moreover, as ever more Southern Negroes left their homelands for the North, Northern public schools became ever more segregated and more nearly like those they were trying to escape.

The North, whose patterns of residential segregation have been traditionally much more rigid than those of the South, where white householders wanted their black servants to reside fairly close by, continued to strengthen the ghetto walls; and to escape the inevitable outward expansion of those walls, white people created suburban communities far from the inner cities, which no longer being a place of white residence, have been allowed to decay and fester with ever widening blight and riot and crime.

It was during this period, and in the North, that the modern Black Power movement had its genesis. Its effective birth was in a religious movement, sometimes called the Black Muslim religion. This religious sect was not a creature of the rural or even the urban South; but was born and found its largest following in the Northern ghettos, in Chicago, Detroit, Harlem and Boston. It has spread throughout the country. But it addressed itself first to the frustrations and bitterness of the Northern urban Negro. It preceded in point of time the Supreme Court's 1954-55 decisions.

It is doubtful if in the history of American Constitutional Law any more fateful decisions have been rendered than those in the two cases styled Brown v. The Board of Education. Almost certainly no decisions have so affected American society. They overturned a legal doctrine, "separate but equal," that was three-quarters of a century old. They profoundly redefined the dimensions of the States Rights concept. They reaffirmed the world's faith in the viability of the American dream of equality and justice for all. But they temporized with the principles they propounded. They permitted the cyncial to deny the rights they purported to guarantee, thereby holding forth a promise that would go largely unfulfilled, thus setting the stage for the frustration and its eruption in violence which have characterized America in the last several years.

In 1954 the Supreme Court held in an exceptionally brief opinion, considering the social, political and legal magnitude of the subject matter, that segregated public education was inherently unequal. The opinion held unconstitutional the 1896 case of Plessy v. Ferguson, which had established the separate but equal doctrine and seemed to foreshadow a new era of education for Negroes, who would not henceforth be kept out of those manifestly superior schools that white Southerners had built for themselves.

However, the very magnitude of the social and political changes which it would apparently produce caused the Supreme Court to lose sight of a most basic fact. The United States Supreme Court does not decide cases in the abstract. Every change, every advance, in constitutional doctrine in this country takes place only because there are parties before the Court who are requesting relief. In this case the parties were specific Negro children, seeking to enter particular public schools in several Southern and border states with segregated school systems. It is an essential, an understood concomitant of our adversary legal system that when a plaintiff wins a case, he is entitled to legal relief. And being entitled to the relief, he is entitled to it in the here and now.

But the United States Supreme Court permitted itself to look beyond, indeed to overlook altogether, the children who had brought the actions. The Court did not include in its judgment for the plaintiffs in its 1954 decision any relief whatsoever. Instead, the Court retained the case on its docket and set it down for a new hearing on the issue of relief, i.e., of the methods of implementing the Court's decision.

A year later in 1955, decision came down in what is now styled the second Brown case. And the decision was almost certainly one of the most mistaken and most tragic ever rendered by the Court. For the Court did not say to those defendant school districts, admit these Negro plaintiffs now. The Court had already decided that the plaintiffs had been handicapped by their inferior education and would continue to be handicapped in their segregated schools. But the Court said to those children, your personal and individual rights must be put aside. And the Court said to the South, you are to implement the 1954 decision "with all deliberate speed." Few more fateful words have ever been spoken.

I was at that time a resident of North Carolina. Immediately after the 1954 decision a number of school districts had made plans to abolish their segregated school systems and comply with what they thought would be the Court's mandate. When the "all deliberate speed" decision came in 1955, Southern politicians took complete control of the situation out of the hands of the professional educators. Plans for integration came to an abrupt halt, to be supplanted by plans to make "all deliberate speed" mean "never."

It was during the third era, the succeeding decade, from 1954 to the early 60's, that the mood of Negro America alternated between hope and disillusionment, between apparent achievement and utter frustration. This was the period of the non-violent civil rights movement, of the sit-ins and marches, an era when the Negro's faith in the law as his source of ultimate hope began to weaken and his belief in the necessity for his own overt, meaningful action began to rise. But, by and large, the Negro's attitude was positive. While integration of the schools remained slow and painful, the courts were actively striking down other areas of public segregation and discrimination, and having learned their lesson with the school cases, the courts coupled their decisions with orders for immediate relief, and throughout the entire Southern tier of the nation a great social revolution took place. Hotels, restaurants, theaters, golf courses, transportation, and more, heretofore often completely closed to Negroes or, as in the case of public transportation, available only upon the most humiliating of terms, suddenly were open to all. As one of these barriers after another cracked and tumbled in one city and state after another, it appeared to most white people and many Negroes that at long last the promised land for Negroes was in sight.

And then the awful realization really began to emerge. Through the euphoric haze of these small victories the outlines of America's great race problem were as rigid as ever. The vast majority of Negroes, North and South, were as ill-educated as they had ever been; they were as poorly housed as they had ever been. They were as economically exploited in the ghettos as they had ever been. The civil rights revolution with its new legislation, with the Court victories, with the marches and sit-ins had simply not reached the basic problems that two hundred years of segregation and discrimination had created throughout the land.

In some effort to meet this challenge Congress and the federal government began to implement the legislation of the Great Society, and made inevitable the violence of the ghettos of the second half of this decade, the present and fourth era. For much of the legislation of the Great Society has been mercurochrome and a band-aid where a heart transplant was called for. Some two or more years ago, A. Philip Randolph told this nation that the problems of the Negro, if they would be solved, required billions, not millions of dollars. What was true then is no less true today. There is the most urgent requirement that resources at least of the magnitude of those being poured into Vietnam be expended on the social needs of this nation. Under the imperatives of war, we carve out harbors which nature had overlooked; we create vast cities where only rice grew, we build miles of runways to handle the largest airships, which when the war ends will be reclaimed by the jungle as Ankor Wat was taken by the Banyan trees.

Today we stand at the very precipice in this nation. A people who for two hundred years gave unstinting support to the American system, not really out of fear, but out of hope that one day they would be included in, really included in, as the Irish have been, as the Italians have been, as the Jews have been, as all others have been, are now beginning to lose hope. A people who accepted the non-violent message of Christ and cried out for His saving grace when the whip of the slave master cut their backs, and sang His praises even when they were turned away from the doors of His churches, ask now why Christ's messages of love and brotherhood have been so long lost on those who would remind them of Christ's teachings of peace.

Today white America confronts a deeply troubled, deeply disturbed, bitterly frustrated black America. The focus of that discontent is in the ghetto streets and part of that focus has been deliberately shifted by some to the schools and colleges. The frustration and discontent have found philosophical articulation in the phrase "Black Power." Extending far beyond the doctrinal and membership confines of the Muslims the phrase has caught the imagination of many young Negroes.

As is likely to be true when a philosophy is embodied in a phrase, the words Black Power convey ideas to many people. There are, in fact, two forks in the Black Power road. Down one can travel nearly all American Negroes. For Black Power speaks to black pride and black awareness. It calls for black achievement. It seems to me that there is this branch of the philosophy or the movement which inherently excludes white participation. Indeed, genuine white assistance would hasten the realization of the goals. It is, therefore, appropriate to spend the resources necessary to enable black Americans to achieve positions of parity with others in the society.

Only a few Negroes really believe that the second fork in the road actually leads elsewhere. That is the fork which calls for separatism and violence, and seems, I think, to most thoughtful people to be an utter dead-end.

It should not be overlooked that twice before in this century a separatist philosophy has been urged on American Negroes. In the 20's and 30's Marcus Garvey's Back to Africa movement seemed to many to be the answer to the Negro's problems. But it collapsed in an administrative and financial morass. In fact, its appeal was only to a small fraction of black Americans. In the 30's and early 40's the Communist Party made a significant effort to sell Negroes on the desirability of a black separatist belt within the United States. This attempt was even less successful than the Back to Africa movement. American Negroes have, in truth, been pragmatic. It was not too difficult for most to see the impracticality of the Back to Africa program.

Colonial Africa did not want them. Their own ties with their erstwhile homelands had been utterly severed. Nor did Communism's black belt blandishments seem any more realistic. Moreover, and most importantly, Negroes retained their loyalty to the country, fighting its wars, suffering its indignities, hoping for the day of freedom and equality eventually to arrive. Now once again the proposal of black separatism has been raised.

If I may continue the earlier figure of speech, nearly all black Americans are, I think, on the main trunk of the Black Power road. They always have been. Only a few have at this point in time reached the fork and fewer still have irrevocably committed themselves to the route which leads to separatism and violence.

The challenge today is really a challenge to white America, to the government and the Congress, to the so-called power structure of the states and cities to see that the American dream becomes a reality for the mass of black Americans soon, to see that hope is not raised and then dissipated in small and bitter frustrations, to see that the massive resources of this nation are turned to this massive problem. To such a program, I see no safe alternative.

LUNCHEON ADDRESS by Richard T. Frost
Former National Director UPWARD BOUND
Professor of Political Science
Reed College
January 17, 1968 Portland, Oregon

I have noticed, as I suspect you have, that when academics (or lawyers) are faced with very complex problems of social description, they quickly shift into an analogy or two, in order to keep their sanity. Some use an old teaching device called the parable.

When I think of "urban problems" or the "urban crisis," I think of the American tourist visiting a middle-eastern harem. His instincts tell him what he ought to be doing; he just can't figure out where to start. Urban problems are everywhere. They get much publicity. The number and intensity of these problems is staggering:

- a collapsing urban transit system which has the social effect of stymieing the urban aged and the urban poor, trapping them in a walk-around neighborhood. If not in a drab apartment of some kind.

- a public welfare system historically patronizing, which hour by hour reaffirms the inferiority of the recipient.

- obsolete jurisdictional boundaries in metro America, which have permitted us to develop a massive "half-way house" called surburbia - devoted to the bedroom, the patio, and the nursery of life only, and, which ties a white noose around the city via zoning and other restrictive land use regulations. Surburbia thinks it has attained the ultimate good life - but that murmur you hear out there is hardly the symphony of the whole life.

- classic, water-treading city governments, under and ill staffed, with bad tax resources, cities full of veto groups but empty of the muscle and power to really get much done. But for spectacular exceptions such as Lindsay in New York, Aleioto in San Francisco, Richard Lee in New Haven, to name a few, city government in America has the charisma and magnetism of a Justice of the Peace in North Dakota.

So, the list of "urban problems" is long; those ills are very serious; they are getting worse not better, and the flight to the minature republics of suburbia goes merrily on. (Did you hear Joey Bishop's solution to the parking problem on Manhattan Island? Joey lives in Englewood, in Jersey. He says he buys very old used cars in Englewood, drives them through the tunnel and abandons them!)

But I don't want to talk about the classic list of urban maladies. I want to talk about the subject of this conference, as I understand it.

I want to talk about alienating young people in the cities - white kids, black kids, Mexican kids, any kind of kids in the cities, and the education they get from their schools, their colleges, and their UPWARD BOUND programs. About, this, I take it, I can do some generalizing before I sit down. But first, I want to talk particularly about black students in urban UPWARD BOUND programs. And, in doing this, not so parenthetically, I will seem to be very patronizing - seeming to take an over-30, parental view of "the young;" and, as a white man or "parent," talking about the black young, I will seem especially patronizing - almost like the British Colonial Official talking about his raggedy "subjects." This is not my intent. I am trying hard, in these matters, to be a decent social scientist, and it is in that role, that I want to make seven points about urban black kids in any urban educational program from high school on up.

1) Education is constant and it is everywhere - not just in schools, colleges, and UPWARD BOUND programs. If a young person's education as a whole is "100%," what per cent of it is digested in schools, colleges, or UPWARD BOUND programs? Your guess is as good as mine. I guess low. The bewildering variety of signals, coming in on the urban youngster is staggering. His antennae must be many, and they must be pointed every which way - all the time. He knows this and that's why he uses words like "tune in," "tune out." Sometimes, as I get older, I feel that everything on the urban scene is somehow coming unhinged, unzipped, unraveled - that a fairly stable set of social goals and workways is now a massive jumble of conflicting demands bent on pulling us into a thousand pieces. To use another analogy, I am occasionally a victim of the Chicken Little Syndrome - the whole damn urban sky is falling!

Television, the astonishing candor of current movies, street corner haranguers pushing very pungent political plans, the candy store magazines, store-front religions, conflicting peer group influences - all these, and more, are the everyday life of the urban youngster.

His education - think too many educators at all levels - is what goes on in schools, colleges, or UPWARD BOUND programs "to a great extent." Actually, what goes on there is a certification process - we in the educational establishment certify what is right to learn, while education writ large goes on all around us. As I have indicated, my personal view is that the extent to which we are the educators is a diminishing one - and it isn't very large in the first place. That's point No. 1.

2) It is obvious that the black community in the cities is in direct revolt against the deep, abiding, and pervasive racism of the white society - and therefore, to some extent - maybe small, maybe large, probably increasing rapidly, urban black UPWARD BOUND students will reflect that revolt in our programs. I don't have to elaborate on white racism in this audience. You know it's everywhere. "White is right" says the whole system, all things lovely, beautiful; all things estimable, or legitimate, are white. Or, which of you out there, who is white, would put up with that endless, daily series of little glances, snubs, petty insults, and what-have-you that say to the black man in America, "You're SECOND, pal; you're NOT REALLY HERE, pal; what the hell are you doing standing there?"

All these, and many more, repeated over and over and over again, from one end of the nation to the other, work their massive havoc on the human pride that is crucial to personal equilibrium, self-confidence and personal stability. The black kids in our programs will reflect this and only a fool still wants to be "color-blind."

3) And not unrelated, there is the long and perplexing history of police-ghetto relationships in this country. For it is in this area, that one senses the black revulsion to the white man's "overseer" stance most directly. And its ripple effect on to all white "authority" is very important.

We know where black views of white police come from. Great numbers of city Negroes developed a natural and deep-running hatred of a Southern Constabulary that was historically vicious, usually insulting, often cruel, and -- need I add -- always white. I doubt that most Northerners ever really comprehended how crass, how raw, and how terroristic has been the Southern oppression of black citizens here in our own country. In short, the police are perceived by millions of black people as the HIRED HESSIANS of a White Establishment determined to stay on top, whatever the cost in blood.

And of course, the source of black hatred for police is not just Southern. The fire of hatred is fed by a long history of Northern police indifference, double standard, insults, and humiliation. And lately, in the Northern riots, some police behaved like the cruelest of Southern sheriffs in the grim days before "civil rights."

As police are the direct, ever-present, uniformed, and officially certified representatives of the White Establishment, it seems wholly natural that they will feel that sting of black bullets first.

Again, to some extent, maybe small, maybe large, probably increasing rapidly, urban black students in UPWARD BOUND will reflect this hatred. And it spills over into a larger, if less well perceived, resistance to white "overseers" of any kind - in uniform or not. I visited one UPWARD BOUND program where the black kids kept asking whether that last site-visitor wasn't really a cop. My denials meant nothing, and we moved on to talk about field trips or something or other.

4) Most of us have really failed to comprehend the depth of the ghetto squalor and filth we have tolerated in an otherwise fairly civilized society. A technological revolution on the farms continues to pump a million people a year into the big metro areas, where they face another technological revolution which leaves them just plain left out. The ghetto - whatever else it is - is the habitat for the casualties of our particular form of economic prosperity. The squalor is everywhere; predators - in the form of drunks, junkies, fairies, or what-have-you, abound - amidst armies of fatherless children, surly fourteen year olds, and the vacant, tired stares of old men and old women who have - against these monstrous odds - long since given up the fight for simple decency.

More than that, we have permitted the generation of what Pat Moynihan at Harvard calls a dangerously large black "underclass" - undereducated, lots of heavy time on their hands, turned off, under-employed, and - as a group - falling further and further behind in an otherwise prosperous society. These are the casualties I just mentioned.

And, here again, to some extent, maybe small, maybe large, probably increasing rapidly, urban black kids in urban UPWARD BOUND programs will reflect a sense of real injustice, a sense of how far American ideals are from American practices, a sense of the stark disparity between splendor and squalor, side by side, in the American city. And, while they know poor white kids, - and indeed are in a UPWARD BOUND program with them - they will increasingly attribute black poverty to a White Establishment that just won't give up its total grip on the goodies of the society. And they may - as they have in several UPWARD BOUND programs - vent this anger on those same white kids in the program.

One Black Nationalist tutor, when I asked him if the physical abuse of the white kids in his UPWARD BOUND program wasn't a real detriment to the program's success, answered, "Well, isn't it their turn?"

5) And, I think very important, is the ripple effect from the civil rights movement of the 1950's, against Southern authority. There the task was so obviously legitimate. The Bull Connors, the Sheriff Jim Clarks, the behavior of these men was finally - thanks to national television news coverage - just plain intolerable. We in the North supported that movement, with money, with people, and with spirit. We awarded it - as I believe we should have - complete legitimacy. To the black American, the facing up to - and the ultimate facing down of - a Bull Connor or a Jim Clark was a victory beyond white comprehension.

Let me also remind you that it was a case of direct opposition to constituted authority - wholly legitimatized by the national establishment, including you and me in UPWARD BOUND programs.

Again, to some extent, maybe small, maybe large, probably increasing rapidly, urban black kids in urban UPWARD BOUND programs will reflect a don't-have-to-give-a-damn view of your rules and mine, your customs and mine, your "procedures" and mine. And, if you're white and making all those rules, it is especially doubtful that anyone really must take you seriously.

6) We'd all have to be silly indeed were we to either ignore or underestimate the influence of current Black Radicalism on the adolescents coming through our UPWARD BOUND programs. The Black Power leadership may be small in number, and its active followers may be a small percentage of black America, but that leadership is smart, resourceful, seasoned by the billy clubs of white jailers, apparently fearless - and they bring a very dangerous message to the ghetto. They are announcing - flat out - that the white society in America is IRREDEEMABLY racist, IRREPARABLY racist. No palliatives; no little change pills, none of the mush from Martin King or Whitney Young or Roy Wilkins - all old men who live way up there in some white stratosphere - none of that has any real meaning.

Says Daniel Watts of Liberator magazine, "We shall share in the economic power of this land, or perish in the streets. Clearly, Whitey won't let us share, so it's burning that must come."* Thus, if white society is irredeemably racist, only an apocalyptic explosion of black rage in the cities can bring that racist society to its knees.

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* Saturday Evening Post - January 13, 1968

Now, I don't know whether that is true or not, but I do know that white America has handed these radicals tremendous political clout. The white system has been so slow to respond; so tortured and agonizing has been that small response; so doubtful it is that we really mean it, that the spirit of Black Power, capitalized on by tough, young leadership, is a tremendous threat to the very stability of our urban society.

The violence that started in Watts in '65, increased in '66, and hit 76 different communities in the summer of '67, will continue, if not increase, and we had better learn both to expect and endure it. Now, like you, I am told that "most Negroes don't buy that Black Power stuff." I suspect that is true - but I'm not sure that such a fact really helps.

One thing I've learned in recent conversations with Negro young people in Portland: They don't want to be asked whether they "believe in violence." And if you press the question, the response is usually, "Well, I wouldn't want to see it, but I wouldn't rule it out, either," or, "When a man is down, and there's no way to go but up, there's just no telling how he makes it."

Here again, to some extent, maybe small, maybe large, maybe increasing - I just don't know - black urban UPWARD BOUND students will reflect the heady message of Black Radicalism in our UPWARD BOUND programs.

7) And last, there is that admixture of violence that has been characteristic of our young society since its inception. Frontier violence was old hat. Violence against and among the black poor is also old hat. Four American presidents have been shot and killed; one, the most recent, the youngest president to take office. We have in this country an astonishingly high rate of violent crimes, most of them occurring in the older and poorer sectors of our cities.

And, to all this, we must now add the domestic effect of that ugly little war out in Vietnam - a war on a ragged non-white country by a huge and powerful United States with its overwhelming white majority. All war, and particularly a guerrilla war of this horrid kind, adds to a climate of guerrilla violence here at home - in our cities.

And here again, to some extent, maybe small, maybe large, maybe increasing - I just don't know - urban black youngsters will reflect the cloying ambiguities of this war in the urban UPWARD BOUND programs. For the draft is nearer to them than to you or me and they are subject to an increasing drumfire of black objections to a war against non-whites. So much for the seven things I wanted to say about black kids in urban UPWARD BOUND programs.

And, before anyone jumps on me feet first, I want to point out that these seven features are hardly exclusive to Negro students. I am told, for example, that there are white students who don't always like rules, either. Moreover, we're beginning to see a white reaction to white poverty reminiscent of the 1930's - somehow an acquisitive economic establishment has victimized their parents and themselves.

Finally, in case you haven't had the privilege of talking with my own 14-year old son - who is white - you have been spared a particularly rancid view of the FUZZ and how they go around "picking on kids."

So, these issues are more general; I know that, as you do; I have merely spent some particular time on a particular part of the input - the urban Negro kids and the out-of-school education they will bring to urban UPWARD BOUND programs IN SOME DEGREE.

Now, of course the question is What Do We Do About All This? As Sandi McCorry asked me on the phone in December - "Should we try to minimize the distracting influence and the destructive tension of the black revolution, in our UPWARD BOUND programs?"

It's only noon on Wednesday - of a conference lasting until Friday afternoon, so I can fink out on a well developed set of responses to that question. But I confess I did come to New Orleans with a few preconceived notions - which I also confess, I won't give up on too easily. They are as follows:

A) The question of the relevance of our formal schooling for urban students is very much up in the air, and we're not going to make real progress on that unless we involve the students directly in the decisions we make about that relevance. In short, people (educators) who have the power to certify what is proper to learn in school have a special responsibility to ask the opinion of those whose larger education is going on in places and in ways most of us know very little about.

B) Urban colleges, whatever their weaknesses, have the obligation and responsibility to involve themselves with the urban problems going on around them - and, need I add - inside them. I'm always afraid of phrases such as "distracting influences;" mostly because I don't have an awful lot of confidence in those who get to decide what is "distracting" and what isn't - including myself in that role.

C) I don't really think it makes much difference whether or not urban UPWARD BOUND programs wish to be involved. My personal view is that they will be involved in one of two ways - inevitably:

- they will either maintain some management control over that involvement by careful planning, thinking, anticipating, strategizing, and so on, OR

- outside forces will involve them, particularly if they set themselves up as a ripe target by seeming to purposely cut out what are called "militant" students and/or staffs.

D) I do think that there are at least a limited set of strategies for managing urban conflict in our urban UPWARD BOUND programs. I found, for example, two days of discussion with Ray Simpson, Scott Hope, and John Orofino at San Francisco State recently, very helpful. They are all here and we should listen to them with considerable care.

E) Lastly, I find the Black Revolution going on in this country the most welcome basic social change since the reformation of the American economic structure by Franklin Roosevelt in the 1930's. I think this current revolution is a great watershed. After all, when we in the white society back up so many years of Negro aspiration, when we so misuse our power and wealth for so long; when we treat a whole sector of our nation like children for so long - it is little wonder, and a great joy, I think, when that sector steps forward and says, THAT'S ENOUGH, WHITE MAN. WE WANT OUR SHARE OF THAT CONSITUTION YOU'VE BEEN BLABBING ABOUT ALL THESE YEARS. WE WILL BE MEN, OR PERISH IN THE EFFORT.

I am optimistic that urban educational systems, such as UPWARD BOUND can manage the conflict that this revolution naturally generates. But, then, maybe they cannot. You will remember Jack Kennedy's oft-used line - "Just because there's a problem doesn't mean there's a solution." Our present predicament may be an example of that. If it is, then the important question becomes, "How long will the hiatus last?"

If we love this country, as you and I do, we hope it will be short.

LUNCHEON ADDRESS By John Lash
Coordinator of Special Foundation Projects
Texas Southern University
January 18, 1968 Houston, Texas

I frequently wondered why I was asked to appear on this program. Then it occurred to me that we have had a riot at Texas Southern University where I work and that there are some of the circumstances surrounding that riot and some lessons that we should have learned from that riot which may have some value for a group which is considering the urban crisis. Let me describe briefly the circumstances surrounding the riot at Texas Southern.

Our students have for a long time been interested and active in various community movements which they regard as appropriate for their participation. Texas Southern was one of the first institutions in which students sat-in in local business establishments in an effort to break down the pattern of segregation that had existed in Houston all along.

As our students have matured, they have participated in other affairs that have been important to them and have been meaningful in our community. It was this kind of involvement indeed that led directly to a confrontation between the Texas Southern University students on the one hand and the Houston Police Department on the other. Several of our students had taken part in a demonstration at a city dump, which is located still in the middle of a Negro ghetto. There had been efforts on the part of the community citizens to get that city dump closed, and our students joined the citizens in a picketing of the dump, and for a time the garbage trucks were held out of the dump.

At this point the City Police issued a warning to our students that anyone who engaged in further picketing would be arrested. One of our students came back to the campus and while he was there the police learned that he was carrying a gun. They came to the campus to arrest this young man, and the fact that they did come to the campus touched off a series of gunshots between some students in the dormitory and the City Police. There was an immediate riot call and some 300 police converged on the Texas Southern campus, surrounded it and began a drumfire of guns into the dormitory. It is estimated by the police themselves that some 6,000 rounds of ammunition were fired into the dormitory. Four hundred students, all of the men students in the dormitory, were arrested, were taken to jail and remained in jail overnight. They were released the next afternoon.

By this time the dormitories themselves were a shambles and, of course, campus life was disrupted for several days.

Now, I give you the circumstances because it seems to me that they illustrate several points that you have been discussing and which I take it you will continue to discuss. There are those of you who have asked the question, understandably, how can we protect our students from violence. The point is, it seems to me, that even if it were desirable to protect them from violence, it would be an impossible task. Young Negroes are involved in civil rights. They are joining the surge of the Negro race toward equality, and it seems to me to be desirable and necessary that these young people be a part of what is the most significant revolution that has taken place, in our time, at any rate, and perhaps in the history of the country.

One story that John Mason Brown tells about Rip Van Winkle is that the tragedy of Rip Van Winkle was not that he was a drunkard, because a lot of people are drunkards. The tragedy of Rip Van Winkle was not that he was a henpecked husband, all husbands are henpecked or lie about it, but the tragedy of Rip Van Winkle was that he slept through a revolution with a gun by his side and never fired a shot. It seems to me that if we are going to be realistic, we must face up to the fact, as Dick Frost said yesterday, that violence is a fact of American life. It is a technique of social negotiation which Americans themselves have used. This country got its freedom in a revolution and restructured its society somewhat in a civil war. Violence has been the means by which a system of segregation and discrimination has been perpetuated for more than 100 years in this country. Negroes have lived with violence whether they wanted to or not. They have learned to tolerate it whether they wanted to or not. And if you are asking the question how can I protect my kids from violence, I am tempted to answer, "Lock up the whole community and put it in UPWARD BOUND and leave your kids on the street, or take them on a trip to Never-Never Land," but then I would suppose that those who ask that kind of question may have already started that trip, anyway.

It seems to me that one of the things that we learned at Texas Southern, or that we should have learned whether we did or not, is that violence has its uses and if it is positively viewed and positively analyzed, it can transform people. Someone said the other day, facetiously, I suppose, but perhaps not, "I didn't get a promotion to assistant principal until there was a riot in my town, and if I want to be principal," he went on to say, "I guess I will have to promote another one." Violence has gotten things done. It is a part of American life and it seems to me that the only way that you are going to change the pattern of violence is to change America itself. This I submit is one of the great challenges which has to be considered along with urban unrest.

It seems to me that we learned another thing from our students which may be applicable in this meeting. Our students are telling us that we, like others, have been patronizing and condescending toward them; that they want to be big girls and boys now; that they are being turned on and they want to be turned loose. They are saying to us that, "We think we are ready to assume some responsibility, some initiative, some leadership in the decision about our own destiny." They are saying to us, "All of the things that you have been calling objectives we want to translate into action. You say you want us to be thinking citizens. We want to be thinking citizens, and we believe that the time has come that we should assume appropriate kinds of leadership; that we should sit in some of the seats of power; that we now need to be heard. We don't necessarily want things done for us that we ourselves can do."

Now, maybe their predicament is simply the predicament of that nagging wife on television who says, "Please, Ma, I would rather do it myself," but I don't believe that this is true. I think that this is the kind of signal that has been recognized in this conference. It has to be recognized on Negro college campuses. It has to be recognized all over this nation. Our young people are now taking part in the revolution and they feel that their part ought to become increasingly important. If you think about what is happening at this conference, you may see some analogy between that attitude and other attitudes that you are encountering.

Now, it seems to me that a third thing that we learned, or we should have learned from the riot at Texas Southern, and that thing is, trite as it sounds, we are living in a revolution. The revolution is taking place and we cannot continue to act as if it is not happening. We cannot afford, to use the words of Lillian Smith, to try to purchase a new world with old Confederate money. And I suspect very strongly that somewhere in the attitudes of some UPWARD BOUND Directors there may be this wishful nostalgic feeling that somehow the old techniques are going to work; that somehow I am going to convey my love and my regard to kids and this is going to be enough. We are living in a revolution. We cannot protect our kids from that revolution even if we want to and our kids have a number of things to say to us. We ought to listen.

III. THE GROUP SESSIONS

[On Wednesday morning and afternoon, and on Thursday morning, conference participants divided into two groups of fifty for discussion of conference issues. The agendas for these group sessions were tentatively established by Dr. Billings in his opening remarks to the conference. While the discussion focused to some extent on the "urban crisis," the issues debated ranged from the importance of the role model concept to ways in which dormitory arrangements might be made to minimize self-segregation in projects.

[This section has been organized topically in order to share some of the insights developed in the group sessions. This kind of organizational focus is utilized at the cost of losing some of the flavor of the meetings themselves. Remarks from various sessions have been mixed together where they bear on the same subject. Some remarks from the question and answer period following Dr. Frost's speech on Wednesday afternoon have also been included here.-ed.]

1. UPWARD BOUND and the response to riots: the question of controlling urban violence through the program.

MR. GREEN: ....I think that it would be very bad if any policy came out that stated how UPWARD BOUND could have riot control....

It reminds me of the bind of being a Negro. You have made some progress. You pat yourself on the back and say that you have done so well. Yet, you are still reminded after a while that you still are a Negro, and then, when the stuff starts to fly, you are going to have to make up your mind whether you are going with this side or with that side. This is what UPWARD BOUND is in the middle of.

I think the government says, "Boy, we are giving you money and you get mixed up in any riot, boy, and you have cut your own throat. You won't get another penny next year." I know that must have been said somewhere.

So, here we are. We have a program that has been having some success, but riots are about to start. The pressure is on. If we are in the middle of it, we don't get any more money and the whole thing blows up.

I think that if you come out with a riot-control method, much like some of these human relation committees have in some of the various cities, you begin then to lose the confidence of the very kids that we are trying to help. The reason that we are helping is because we do have their confidence. And, they have ours.

If we start trying to prevent these riots, which is doing nothing -- preventing a riot is doing nothing as you are treating a symptom rather than a cause -- then we are going to lose out on all of the confidence of the kids that we have so far. I believe, in that event, that we will find in the future that our program will not be so successful as it is now. Once you turn the kids off, you are the enemy. Once you are the enemy, you are just like anyone else that they have been exposed to.

So, I hope, although we should consider the rioting, we should discuss riots and its causes, we should point out to the individual kids what they may have to lose by rioting, and so forth, but I don't think that we ought to come out with any general ABC method of riot control. But, don't overlook it, because if it comes, you are going to be in the middle of it as these kids and their parents are in the middle of it.

* * *

MR. BARCLAY: One of the things that I was always very careful to do, because I knew a particular youngster, I didn't impose on their friendship and tell him, "Go back there and you talk to those kids and you tell them so and so." That I did not feel was my function because I put him in the middle with his group and with me. If he likes me, does he have to be a fink for me now and go -- my idea was that I am responsible for an educational project, primarily. I want to keep the young people in my project physically safe, contribute to their educational growth, and you don't divorce yourself from the community, because you get hung if you do. You are very much involved. But you are not involved in the sense that you become the conscience of the community and you are going to stop riots and that kind of thing.

* * *

MR. BOYD: ....The kids that we are going to bring in this summer are going to bring the problems. These kids are going to bring the violence themselves. They are not going to have to wait for a group to come on campus to organize. I think we are playing around with academic terms here instead of getting down to what some people might call the "nitty gritty." UPWARD BOUND is going to have to be involved in the community. UPWARD BOUND can't save this kid from his community. They are going to have to work within the framework with this kid. The community itself, No. 1 presents a problem: To take this kid on campus for eight weeks or six weeks, put him in a vacuum and expect him to change is absurd.

* * *

MR. HENDERSON: ....The public school system has its student for 12 years and they can't do a damned thing about whether or not he is involved in riots, and if you think you are going to be able to do something about it in just eight weeks, you know, I think you are riding on dreams.

* * *

FROM THE FLOOR: You know, it is very strange, I did not realize, and I am from a Southern UPWARD BOUND Project, but I hadn't realized that these so-called Northern and Western Projects were so black oriented. Perhaps part of the problem is that we need a few more black PD's in the North.

You see, you cats are in a bind when the riots come. You are white, you are a PD, you are with the system, and you are going to tell these kids not to riot?

FROM THE FLOOR: I'll go further than that. I will tell you this:

Any youngster that has it in his mind in our program that this summer is his summer to go on the street and riot is going to be advised by me not to come to UPWARD BOUND, take a sabbatical from UPWARD BOUND and to stay home and do your business.

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2. UPWARD BOUND and riots: some general program orientations.

MR. McCREARY: I would see whatever we did in our program at Berkeley being not to head off turbulence but to have a good, responsive program in which young people really had a role to play and were going somewhere. And I suspect in that kind of program there is not too much likelihood of there being any violence because the young people are actually fulfilling themselves and if they weren't fulfilling themselves and had something that they were unhappy about, we would want to hear it and change the circumstances. They have much to do with what we do. They have much to say about the design of the program and, therefore, I don't see our program as one to keep from having violence on the campus but I think it is not too likely we would have violence simply because they are happy with the program. They had much to do with designing it and they can change it when they wish to change it. They can have a very large role in fixing the program and making it better, so I don't see any reason for them to revolt. It is their program.

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FROM THE FLOOR: I think that if a kid knows what the dynamics of a riot are, and this is not outside of education because it is a sociological question, if the kid knows the dynamics of a riot and has enough exposure to relate somewhat to the past and what has happened, how these things build up, what the consequences were and so forth, he may be able to make these decisions for himself.

We have people in Watts now who were involved in the riot and who have decided that this is not the way and that there are better ways. We have people also there who are probably planning another riot in the summer. We also have the police.

Rather than impose our own values on them, if we can expose them to all of the values that exist that are relevant to riots, and then let them make their own decisions, I think that they will be much better off.

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MR. SMITH: .... We are here to talk about whether we are going to relate to the urban problem or not .... In Philadelphia, we don't have a choice as I see it. Philadelphia will have a riot and I don't see UPWARD BOUND or our program even attempting to stop it. In fact, we may make the people just a little more knowledgeable so that they can do it in the right places.

But, I hear a lot of talk about -- should we? Should we not? Should we develop it? Should we not develop it? Some of you guys must have great projects as our kids force us into it -- even if we didn't want to do it. We try to force a little bit of what is going on in the city on them so they know where the power structures are. Who do they hit when the coal goes out of their house? They don't get any coal delivery and the man won't come around and fix your broken steps. Who do you hit for that?

.... I just want to say that I think that we ought to recognize that we don't have a choice with the kids that we are working with.

FROM THE FLOOR: I think that is terribly pathetic. If you feel that way, they ought to give grants to SNCC and to CORE and to Stokely Carmichael instead of the universities and colleges.

FROM THE FLOOR: Maybe they need to.

MR. SMITH: I am sure that Temple University is committed to getting as many youngsters as they can through the system of higher education -- not to put them back if they want to go back, that is their decision not ours.

But, part of it the issue is relating to the problem -- these youngsters can't sit down to work Algebra if they have six kids at home who are barely getting by on welfare which gives the mother one-third as much as it would if she would let her kids go up for adoption.

You know, you are expecting them to do miracles. I doubt if any of us could do that. You are talking about SNCC. You can make me into a radical and I will play that part if you want, but SNCC is beginning to see and to point out to this whole country just what some of the problems are.

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MRS. McCORMICK:.... I think one thing we accomplished when there were disturbances was that we cover rather a large area, so that the kids who were not directly involved and were not in the city came to understand how the students that were there felt about what was going on. Tampa proper was where most of this was going on. I think one thing that we accomplished was that the student from rural Pasco came to understand how and why some of this was happening.

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MR. McCREARY: You know, it sounds like people are saying that any kind of really strong protest movement is some kind of disease and that we ought to be vaccinating people against the disease.... It seems to me we live in a society and crisis and that there are all kinds of conflicts going on. It seems to me that our job should not be to be afraid that somebody might be involved in an action but, rather, it should be to pick the promising people and strengthen them in every kind of way. Obviously some of them will end up not taking part in actions and some of them will lead actions. I would think that we should be happy that we trained good leaders for actions because some of the actions need to take place. Some of the actions are very lamentable and those actions would involve us, too. So I don't think we can get anywhere talking generally about riots and disturbances as if it is a great evil to avoid but, rather, we should talk about good programs in which young people have a chance to grow in all ways and then have a little bit of confidence in youth and also in America....

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MR. McCREARY: I guess it depends on what one defines as "the crisis," but I would think that our purpose is primarily to strengthen the young people in our program in terms of pride in self-understanding, strengthen them in terms of sensitivity and broad understanding of the world and its problems, and then from there if some played one role and some played another role, it would seem to me to be almost right that they should choose different roles. But I don't see the crisis as just a black-white crisis, and I do see a great deal of injustice in the cities.... Probably the urban unrest is the way to achieve the massive change, and I certainly don't see the program as the way to put out the fire in the ghetto.

MR. GOLDHAMMER: .... One of these "covert" strategies of the middle class has been to hold out prizes for potential leadership of the lower classes in order to rob the so-called lower or disadvantaged classes of the potentiality of ever challenging the domination of the middle class.

I just wonder that within the fine ideals that we have expressed here that we aren't becoming implementers of this fine middle class strategy?

.... I would like to think in terms that we could devise in UPWARD BOUND a program that helped youngsters to remain conscientious, aggressive, dynamic members of the poverty groups or the disenfranchized groups. People who are willing to utilize their talents and their competencies in order to demand.

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MR. GOTTLIEB: I think if kids can get a feeling -- Negro and white kids -- that the system is straight, that the color bit does not reflect how you are going to respond, will make a great deal of difference. I think that there are ways of doing this. Staffing is one way. One way is to have the institutional resources to be constantly interacting with these kids. They know that on an equal level they can all get the same kind of support.

MR. HENDERSON: Whether or not we are concerned about whether our kids respond violently makes little difference, I think, to the kids because some will probably respond violently while others will respond in a non-violent fashion .... if our kids were indeed leading the riots in East St. Louis, I rather imagine that we have to accept some of the responsibility for it because to some degree we sophisticated the kids to the nature, the scope, the extent of problems in East St. Louis. Perhaps the kid responded in terms of that increasing sophistication....

MR. McCREARY: If there are disadvantaged people in American society, and if today one of the greatest handicaps is inadequate education, and if UPWARD BOUND contributes to improving the education of a significant part of those disadvantaged groups, then I should expect that in the long run it will contribute to giving leadership to the disadvantaged American society. In the past when the disadvantaged elements of American society got good leadership, they engaged in actions to transform the society and give themselves more chances. This is what happened under the Union Movement during the Thirties, and I think we can anticipate it again. So I really think that it would be quite proper that some young people would end up doing one thing and some ending up doing another thing to transform and improve American society, but it would be dreadfully wrong for us to set forth a program which is really to try to make sure that they did not give leadership to the change that America is undergoing at the present time.

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3. UPWARD BOUND and riots: some specific suggestions.

A. On sending students home if riots occur.

MISS SMITH: There was a riot planned in Little Rock, and I understand that the intent was to use UPWARD BOUND students and we did have organizers on the campus. We had quite a bit of unrest. I encountered several meetings going on on campus.

....Our campus is in the part of town that would have gone if it had happened, and we felt that our best way to deal with this was to dismiss our children, and we did. We sent them home a day early and we didn't tell them that we were going to do this until we did it. And we were pretty frank with them about why we were doing it, and I felt that the kids themselves were relieved. They seemed to feel as though that this was something that they weren't themselves too sure about and this relieved them of the responsibility of being involved in a group that would go this way. This was just their response.

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FROM THE FLOOR: I visited a program that had had disturbances in some of its communities and these kids were six blocks removed. They were watching this thing being covered on TV in their dormitory.

These kids were seeing uncles and brothers and sisters and relatives involved in this thing, perhaps, even seeing some of their own being hit on the head by the law enforcement officers.

The position of that Project Director was to lock the kids up in the dorm and not let them move. His position was that because they would be safer there than by going back into the community. The kids responded by saying he could not lock them up in the dorm and that was his mother and his brother on TV and that they had to move.

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MR. HOPKINS: ....It has been apparent that we must be very, very sensitive to the kids all the way through the UPWARD BOUND program, whether there are riots or whether there are no riots. What happened with us [is that] the university closed down and we had to send the boys home as we had no way of feeding them. The girls were living at Mercy College and therefore we had an option of whether they should go home or whether they should stay.

We gave them the option of going home or not going home. The girls reacted and said, "Look, you don't want us any more, you don't like us, you don't accept us."

I think that we fumbled a little bit in that situation. Some of the kids said that we were rejecting them and that we wanted them to go home. Other parents called and told their kids to stay there that they didn't want them to come home and that things are liable to break out even more so for them to stay safely there.

They had some sniping going on right outside of Mercy College. The staff became concerned because they thought that somebody might attack Mercy College and they had 50 primarily Negro kids on that campus and they are going to mess up the whole suburb because you bring these kids out here.

What we did, I think, which helped a good deal, we continued trying to key in on the individual kid -- not as a group. If you make the statement that you can't get involved in a riot or you are going to be out of the program, then the kid is liable to misinterpret this and think of it as a rejection.

We had our legal staff at the university trying to help these kids get out of jail. It is a terrific problem trying to get these kids out of jail once they are in. You have got hundreds of people down there and nobody knows who is there. We had one Spanish-American boy that we couldn't find for three days. His family didn't know where he was. Nobody knew where he was. They didn't have him on the roll, but he was in jail.

Our kids saw that we were interested in them and that we were not rejecting them because we had our legal staff down there trying to get them out. Our kids felt that we were truly concerned about them, therefore, if they had any aggressions they didn't, generally speaking, take it out on the UPWARD BOUND project. They may have taken it out on someone else.

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MR. LIPSKY: It seems to me that to continue talking about what these kids want to do is inappropriate from my experiences because of the variety of things that they want to do. The kids vary in their reactions. Some want to go home. Some wouldn't think of going home. Some say that it is dangerous out there and that they want to stay here.

....It seems to me that the problem for the Project Director is to open the options as much as possible and not to force the kid into a position of having to go home because of being locked out. On the other hand, the project should allow those kids who want to stay on the campus, or whose parents want them to stay on the campus (as is so frequently the case), to stay on the campus without feeling that they are betraying something.

In other words, the object is to give an institutional response as varied as the responses of the kids themselves. I would add that we have to help the kids make sense of what is going on, regardless of your personal perspective, because the potential for education of any kind in this crisis situation is just too good to pass up.

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B. Other program suggestions regarding riots.

MR. WASHINGTON: One [thing to do in case of a riot] is to have somebody -- we draw from two communities -- to have someone already alerted that if anything happens in these two communities, the first thing that I want them to do is to tell me. Let me, you know, stay on the line.

Another is, to get some legal services alerted far in advance, somebody on campus who, if something happens, I would know where to reach him and I don't run around trying to call attorneys all over the world to try to -- these are the things that I would like to hear come up so that I can say to the staff that these are the things that we have done and if anything happens this is the way that we are going to handle it.

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MR. HOPKINS: One of the things that I think that we can do now and one of the things that we did in our program last summer -- is to keep kids involved in planning of the program itself. Then, they in turn feel that this is my program. I think that we had some of that feeling last summer [when the] riot really screwed up our program. As soon as it was over, they felt, let's get started, we've got some things that we want to do and let's not let this affect us. This is what we told the kids. You know, we told them that we had had some problems but we were not going to let it destroy us. We started back on a Wednesday which was three days before the public schools opened. We had to get the cafeteria to simply put some food in boxes and then took them over to the hotel that we were using as the cafeteria was not really in service yet.

We did all of these things. My point is, that if you get the kids involved to the point where they think that it is their program then they will take a responsibility toward the program much more than having, let's say, someone tell them what to do.

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MR. SULLIVAN: One thing that happened in the program that helped us to get a release of feelings was the making of the film by one of our students as part of our course, a 16 year old girl from one of the big high schools in Newark. She went out at various times during the day and did filming of the destruction. She did not actually show any action shots for quite obvious reasons, but when the film "Nothing But A Man" was shown to the students and when this film by the student was shown to the other students in the program, it brought forth a wide variety of viewpoints of some very highly charged emotional feelings by kids who I think were rather militant, by kids who were somewhat more passive and kids who were just confused, and in the process of trying to handle the students' reactions, well, we feel at least there were certain possibilities there. Students were able to express their feelings....

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MRS. McCORMICK: We sent some of our staff members and [members of the] advisory council into the community and they could get through the barricades [because they were from the community. We] sent two staff members in to talk directly with the boy and his family and to get a look at how he felt about this and why he was involved. And in no way did we take any action against him. We just wanted to know how he felt and why he was doing what he was doing.

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MISS SMITH: Since part of the riots are caused by the lack of job opportunity, one of the things that we did with our community was we contacted all the businessmen in town and we contacted anybody that had any kind of job available, and NYU held open jobs for us, so when our kids went out of our project at the end of August, about 75 per cent of them went into jobs to make some money for the school year, and I think that helped them to get into the community as working people and I think it helped them to know that we were interested enough to not only try to educate them but to try to help them get some cash.

MR. HOPKINS: I think one of the big things is to get to your staff because I am sure that when the first incidents occur in many places the greatest anxiety was on the part of the "middle class" staff to whom this was all new and they didn't understand it. I think that many of the kids were quite aware of what it was all about and these are kids that have grown up in so much violence it wasn't something that they were particularly struck with.

I think concentrating on the staff to get the kind of people that can control themselves, who can maintain some kind of calm, in an institutional setting that indicates that you are safe, you are secure, and that we know what we are doing, are some of the essential things that we might concentrate on here.

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4. The importance of planning for parental support and involvement.

FROM THE FLOOR: How do you deal with this problem of parental involvement? It seems to me that there are two kinds. One is where the parents help plan and participate in the public advisory committee. I don't know many programs that do that well, but I think that it is wonderful when it happens.

There is another kind of parental involvement, and that is where the programs have the staff capacity to know the kids' problems, and serve the families through the winter in such a way that the families feel that they can call the Project Director and that the project becomes something of a center in their lives. I don't think that this has happened in too many programs. When it does, the project, during a crisis, can be the security focus of many parents rather than a threat and the alienating focus.

The mark of a good UPWARD BOUND program may well be: how many parents call the Project Director if there is some kind of disturbance? How many parents feel that the Project Director is a person that they can ask for help for their kids? I think that this is partly a technical problem because many projects don't spend the time with parental involvement and they don't have the staff capacity. They opted for a French teacher or a gym instructor rather than this kind of family liaison....

MR. HASSON: I would just like to speak to that because I am a liaison person at my project.

Take for example one specific case. A Chinese family, where there was a death in the family, and two weeks had passed and the family was involved in all kinds of difficulties with the bills. The funeral home had billed them $1400 for the funeral. The hospital had billed them $120 for certain medical fees that didn't exist, and in investigating this, I found out, after I had gone to this burial association, that the price of the funeral should have been $900 and the price of the hospital bill -- the man was dead on arrival -- should have been $20. I think that this was for a shot of adrenalin or something.

After that one specific contact with that family and I was able to iron out those difficulties, it was very difficult for me to lose these people. In fact, any time anything happens they are on the phone. This reverberates with a lot of families, especially your families on ADC or your families that have disabled members in the family, or families where they have a certain component of the family who are involved with other welfare agencies and they have some difficulty in working with them....

Any activities that go on on the campus, I take it to the parents for their approval. I also invite them down to various classes that the students are involved in and I also have them participate. I also solicit suggestions from them. In many instances, I solicit decisions, very important decisions, that will affect the process of the program. Once parents know that they can be given responsibility by an outside agency to facilitate their needs, they are more responsive.

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FROM THE FLOOR: One thing that we have done in situations like this for our parents is that we have fairly regular home visitations. We have two full-time staff members and myself on half-time that do this. It is a real concern of ours.

We try and help the parents understand what it is that we are trying to do for their youngsters. We have had meetings, at least three meetings every year, in the high schools just for the parents. In these we discuss what a college education is, college applications, parents confidential statements, the ACT Test and others -- our parents are in on the decision making.

For example, of the hours that the students keep in the residence hall. They are in on the decision of the curriculum. They are the largest group on our advisory committee. They visit our program several times in the summer.

This coming summer, we are going to try something different. We are going to invite the parents overnight because we have a residence hall where one floor is extra and is available to us. We are going to invite them to spend two days and one night on our campus. I am going to let the auditors worry about where the money is coming from.

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MR. HASSON: You have to be right there with the parent. You have to follow it all the way down the line.

For example, about three weeks ago in one of the Spanish homes, the kid called me up and said there was no heat in the house, you know, what do we do, Mr. Hasson? I don't get on the phone and call up City Hall and file a complaint. I go down there and I confront the landlord with the people. I let them know what their rights are and I make sure that there is heat in that apartment. When there is heat, I may come back an hour later and threaten that landlord that if there is no heat in that apartment again that I, myself, am going to personally punch him in the nose.

In any situation, there has to be confrontation with these people and you have to have the people that you are working for right there with you to let them know exactly what is happening.

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FROM THE FLOOR: But, I have found many individual cases where you find really cruel and destructive parents....

You can't make the rule across the board. In many cases, communication with parents in which the parent comes on to unify the life of their children is very important. In other cases.... you have family situations which are brutal. Brutal in a metaphoric sense, psychologically brutal and brutal in a very literate sense.

Often there are not both parents and the parent remaining is frustrated, bitter, cruel, and a destructive sort of person.

Now, I am not advocating taking a youngster out of his family, that is not my decision, but it seems to me that sometimes it is a very important aspect of liaison, and that what UPWARD BOUND should be doing is to insulate these students from these destructive forces and strengthen him apart from his family. We are dealing with them, after all, at an age far after we could do anything about his family in a fundamental way.

MR. HASSON: Sir, first thing, we are never to assume that we have the right to take this child out of the home.

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FROM THE FLOOR: With me there is a real problem that I have with many of the parents -- the Negro parents apropos of their sons where the parents are scared to death to talk about the racial issue because they have sons who are incipient black militants or who have strong tendencies this way. The parents are scared to death.

They look to me and I can't communicate effectively with the kids themselves because I am part of the establishment.

The parents look to me, on one hand, to control their sons when the parents can't talk to their children about the problem that they share in common.

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FROM THE FLOOR: I think that the disruption in any Negro family is tremendous -- but I still think that there is a continuity, a great deal of continuity, with that Negro child and his parents. One of the things that he does not want is to be taken from them, and I think that the communications are going to have to be established in that family. Even though the situation is brutal, even though he is being banged on the head, this child, in many cases, does not want to be taken out of that family. [This discussion formed the basis of the resolution concerning family liaison work which was adopted by the conference plenary on Thursday afternoon.-ed]

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MR. McCREARY: When you are dealing with secondary school youngsters, it isn't always true that it is good to make an alliance with the parents. Sometimes the biggest problem for the youngsters in their own eyes, is their parents, and I am not talking out of literature. I am talking about our own youngsters. To be using projective techniques, we find that for a significant number of them that the greatest suppressor that they know is their own parents -- or their parent, usually it is one. So, making an alliance with their parents, even if it were possible, would not always be helpful in working with the youngsters.

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MR. SMITH: I have found that working with the parents has helped us with the kids.... It enabled us to get to some of the problems that were keeping the kids from studying; such as not being allowed to have a key when you are sixteen years old. I couldn't talk to the mother about it and this is not because I am middle class or anything like that -- that is not my problem, it is because I was not old enough. I had to get a community person who was older and who was on the same age level as the parent. I am young and I seem to them as a nice fellow who can certainly work with their kids, but not with them. So, I had to get an older person in the community to work with them. I have found that working with the parents helps.

Now, how does this relate to stopping riots? I don't think that we are ever going to stop riots, but I am going to try to alleviate some of the situations in the families of our kids that might cause them to feel that they need to riot. Those situations are not being able to get a lawyer, not being able to get the money for the rent, or even knowing to whom to go.

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5. Staffing: on establishing rapport with students, responding to black community group demands, and hiring militants.

MR. WHITE: ....I personally am rather frightened that I would have a staff member who would be a militant. I don't know if I could handle this. Is this really good and, if so, how do you handle this problem? ....So I end up with 114 kids that are all upset and excited and go out in the community and cause a big ruckus, and the Federal Government is paying for this and this is a problem.

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MR. WHITE: Let's be very realistic. I am going to be careful when I pick my staff that I can get people I can work with. If I have a guy that is going in a direction opposite from the way I feel, if I can't get him to sit down and at least listen to my point of view, I particularly don't want him.

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MRS. LEET: ....I think that I am afraid to have a real militant -- a real, real black panther who is totally violent -- I think that I am scared.

FROM THE FLOOR: They come onto our campus regularly and have their soap box sessions which are attended by 2,000, 3,000 or 3,500 students.

FROM THE FLOOR: Are they militant?

MR. TURSI: Yes, some of these guys are. When you get down to the "nitty-gritty" of what a man believes, the guy in my program who propounds that in order to make an omelet you have got to break some eggs is my enemy. If he is around this table right now he is my enemy.

You are not talking about breaking traditions alone. When a man incites the kind of stupid and violent revolution that we had going on in the streets of Buffalo, and it is the black man who is outnumbered, he has no armament except for some hunting weapons and these little Molotov cocktails, no matter how heroic he is on the streets....

These guys come here, you know, they have the lunatic fringe of hair and they are preaching that the way to control riots is to put the lid on them. These are the realities of life where I live.

FROM THE FLOOR: These kids are kids who have survived in the jungle up to this point -- before UPWARD BOUND came along. Aren't we selling the kids just a little bit short in the feeling that they do not possess the intelligence to determine for themselves where they want to go? Furthermore, isn't it their right to be able to hear various sides of a question and to decide for themselves? After all, what is education other than the providing of the tools and the opportunity to select alternatives.

If militant people want to come on a campus and talk and preach that kind of thing, shouldn't they be allowed to do it? Okay, they talk and what fear should there really be? I mean, what is the fear?

FROM THE FLOOR: My fear is broken bodies and skulls.

FROM THE FLOOR: I guess I am afraid of bringing this Black Panther representative on the campus for the same reasons that I think you did. I am also scared as hell to bring George Wallace on my campus.

FROM THE FLOOR: Why?

FROM THE FLOOR: Just because there is a contagion of emotional outlet. That is not to say that I am not going to do it. The problem is that most campuses have permitted George Wallace to come on the campus and they have not permitted the Black Panther representative to come onto the campus....

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MR. WILLIAMS: ....We black people have been denied certain rights of participation. We are on the verge of gaining first-class citizenship where we participate as the equals of every other citizen who is a member of society.

Now, in order to get to that step, it is important for the black people to feel that there are competent black people who can direct their activities. It is [necessary] for young people who are involved in UPWARD BOUND [to] see that [they] too could become Project Directors....

Now, the statement that a white director should be replaced by a black director in no way implies that a white man has to be thrown out because black people hate white people. That is not the point. A black man may not be as good as a white director. But, this does not mean that a black man is not a good director and would not be a good director.

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MR. BOYD: I visited about five programs at big, white universities but I have yet to see one Negro as a director of a program .... The kid comes out of an environment where he looks at a black man as not being important. You put him in a program and the Negro who is important in that particular position is another teacher. A Negro is not on the school board, a Negro is not a superintendent in the school he comes out of....

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FROM THE FLOOR: I think that we have to be careful that we are not trying just to ease our own consciences with "be nice to black people" because the blacks are evaluating you just as you are evaluating us. This goes on continuously. We have no illusions about the fact that the only way we [black people] got involved in this program was when you [whites] had problems. We have no allusions about this and that is the only reason that you have black administrators and so on. It is simply that you had problems

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MR. C. JOHNSON: There are ways of getting around the problem [that many universities do not have black staff to fill UPWARD BOUND positions]. I am certain that out in the communities there are black types, academics, who could be enticed to come on the campus and enroll in a program for his Ph.D. or his Masters, or what-have-you, and be made an instructor on the faculty so that he becomes qualified to take over a program on the campus.

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MR. C. JOHNSON: Then there is the problem of assessing the black man that you get. I don't think you want a white-black man, not at this point, because the kids would spot him as a phony right off. On the other hand, I don't think you want a destructive militant black man who.... sees absolutely no chance in the white structure and is determined that he is going to go down with it in flames.... But I think you are certainly going to have to get one who is almost a black racist.

....The other problem I see [is] that in the black community there are many, many black groups, and you will have to be certain that you.... pick a neutral black director because you will inadvertently set yourself up as a target if you pick a guy from a faction that is warring with everybody else over black ideology....

MR. GENDRON: You seem to be overreacting to the black movement, as far as I am concerned.

MR. C. JOHNSON: I am following, and I think I am pretty far behind.

MR. NEWTON: This is the weapon that is used against [black people] whenever the question is brought up: "You are hypersensitive."

MR. GENDRON: Let me explain what I am saying. I am project director in Mobile, Alabama, and who would think that we could get the program that has brought us.... fifty-six students, twenty-six [of whom are] Negro? Probably 60 per cent of our staff is Negro.

MR. NEWTON: You are leading them.

MR. C. JOHNSON: They are fieldhands.

MR. GENDRON: You are generalizing. You say Mobile, Alabama and you have your stereotypes as other people do, and that is really not the case.

MR. C. JOHNSON: I am not generalizing, I am bringing to you gut reaction of blacks in urban areas. I am trying to tell you what they are thinking, we are trying to prevent problems in UPWARD BOUND. We can't sit around here theorizing what you believe to be going on in your educational program and all the educational ramifications about white and black and integration and they are trusting you. We are talking about what the community is believing at this point and how can we alleviate it or prevent it....

....FROM THE FLOOR: I would like to ask you this: I am talking about 11 southern states. What Johnson is telling you, I don't know where he got his information but it is the gospel truth, that the militant blacks are sitting out waiting to attack, and one of the things that top their priority happens to be the project director. I heard it in Mississippi; I heard it in Alabama. I hear it in Texas; I hear it in Georgia.

....MR. JONES: I can firmly support what you are saying. ....From talking with people in the black community in Portland, Oregon about the UPWARD BOUND project....I never talked with anybody....whose first point when he let his hair down was [not:] "Your program, however popular it is with the people who are involved in it, is a program that is off on the wrong foot because it doesn't have a black director or a black co-director and it won't ever get on the right foot until it does." And I got that again and again and again. I got it from people who were not militant themselves, [and] who certainly were not opposed at all to integrated programs....

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MR. C. JOHNSON: ....The militant leadership is constantly looking for targets to attack. This is their bag. And when they run out of targets, they will find one. When they run out of city administrations to attack....they still have to perpetuate themselves. So they will turn to something else, and no one has touched UPWARD BOUND yet very hard....

MR. HOPKINS: ....I think you are going to be criticized, though, no matter what, because even if he [a project director] is black he is still a whitey, because [people will think] he is kowtowing to somebody or he wouldn't have been able to get the job in the first place.

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MR. COHEN: From the point of view of the students, the project director does not seem....all that powerful, as I see it. Just like I have learned that college students don't really know the difference between an assistant professor and a full professor. What they encounter in a classroom is not a fieldhand but a free man. What I am trying to suggest [is] that from the point of view of the students black teachers....can have just as much impact by way of example as can a project director.

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MR. McCREARY: ....The young people have to feel in a very deep sense that you are with them. That does not mean that you necessarily support each individual thing that they might choose to do, but that you understand why they do it and that you understand the kinds of ways that the world is moving them. But, in some cases, I think that it means literally to be with them.

For example, one of our girls got in the newspaper for leading a strike in her high school. I sent her a letter of commendation. I didn't do it because somebody told me in some guideline to commend your kids when they lead strikes, but it was a good strike and she needed to be told that this was the right thing to do.

MR. HASSON: Along the same lines, Gene, these kids want to know where you stand.

Several months ago in Chicago, they had a demonstration at a couple of the public schools and the kids took over. They set up a defense line at one of the housing projects to hold the police off. I went down there that evening -- the kids were on one side and the police were on the other -- the police were shooting and the kids were shooting back.

After the smoke cleared, I went to the projects, and the very first thing that the kids asked me was, "Where do you stand?" They asked, "Are you with us or against us?"

This is what these kids want to know, because the minute they enter one of our programs, we become information dispensers and image imposers. These kids pick this up.

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SISTER MARY ST. GEORGE THOMPSON: I thought until yesterday that I could just trust my own judgment and I was just wondering if you could say that these kids are just playing a role. I just don't want to doubt the sincerity of what I consider a sincere response....

MR. HASSON: You are probably doing some soul-searching ....because of some things that were said [at the conference thus far,] but the kids by and large, if you feel like they like you, they like you. However, they are always checking you out and it just depends on how well you know yourself whether you can accept whether they like you or not, because as we said yesterday, a Negro has a hard life and he is always checking people out. They become very aware of checking people out and we might be together, but everything you say, everything you do, we are checking you out.

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MISS FORD: I think perhaps that as we talk about what we are going to allow, not allow, or what type of staff we are going to have, who is going to be on it, whether they be militants or non-militants, perhaps we have forgotten that really 95 percent of what we allow, what we have, is going to be influenced by the host institution. I think most of us, if not all of us, are hosts at an institution and they have some standards and some thoughts, too.

For example, in my state....you don't bring on the campus who you want to bring,....it has to be approved by the higher officials ....

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MR. WILLIAMS: Maybe we are looking at the young people as being....debilitated. Maybe we are beginning to look at them as deprived. That is nonsense. These kids have survived, and they have survived publicly in conditions that none of us could have survived in. They are very able to look at things. They are very able to make decisions. They are very able to make very shrewd and very good decisions.

For us to assume that because there is a riot going on downtown, that we have to assume the responsibility in telling them where they should go and what they should do, I think is presumptuous. It is presumptuous in terms of a human being. It is presumptuous as educators.

We are here to provide opportunities -- not to become shepherds and daddys and mothers and to place our own particular views upon people....What are we going to do if riots happen? Carry on with your program and let the kids make the decision. It is their choice to stay alive.

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FROM THE FLOOR: ....I think that too many people are being intellectual about this thing and are not being creative enough to bring in this so-called panther person and talk. If you isolate one panther, who has enough information to give 80 of your kids, he is not going to stir them up if you allow for rebuttal and whatnot to take place.

If you call this panther in your office by himself and say, "look man, we are working in the same direction, we are working for the same goals, you are just going at it in a different direction." These guys are approachable, they are not demons....

MR. HOPKINS: ....We have always invited at least one Black Nationalist each year to speak to our program, somebody from the Urban League, somebody from the NAACP and we have probably slighted the conservatives most of all.

Last year, two weeks before the riot, we had a panel which consisted of one hippie, one middle-class white, we had Mayor Hubbard from Dearborn, which is a completely white community, we had Reverend Cleage, who is becoming quite a Negro leader in Detroit.

In this panel, we just hashed out for about an hour and a half or so -- it was very, very emotional. Kids got up and said things. Reverend Cleage was very pointed in his remarks and got up and said, "Look, these people are trying to make you into a bunch of whities, they are not your friends" -- and he spoke directly to nuns or whoever our staff was --

It is very difficult for our staff to control themselves completely or for the students to control themselves completely. We had students getting up and saying that Cleage was all wrong.

Cleage was saying that you cannot be an individual and be a Negro. You have got to be a group, you have got to be a black man to do the kinds of things that these people are trying to say. He is saying that even though you do these things, you are still black. If you walk out on the street, you are black whether you have a doctor's degree or whether you have got an 8th grade education.

Our kids reacted to this a great deal, but I think that because we did deal with it, because we did talk to the students in the various groups afterwards, it was much, much easier for them to meet the crisis that happened two weeks from that point.

MR. HENDERSON: In our program, which is a different kind of program, obviously, it is a college program, we did it differently. We hired what we call teacher-counselors, I guess somewhat similar to tutor counselors, and hired ten of them, and the only qualifications that we established with respect to teacher-counselors was that they be from the same kind of background as our students and also that they demonstrate some ability to negotiate systems wider than the ghetto and, more specifically the university system. And lacking, of course, some experience in the university, some other system the consequence of which we had among the ten teacher-counselors all the way from dropouts, dropouts from high school to a fellow who was working on his Master's Degree. Two of our counselors were rehabilitation, or rehabilitees, I guess, from the San Quentin Rehabilitation Program under the direction of Doug Grant.

At the same time, the job, however, of the teacher-counselor was literally to push, pull, pray, coerce, persuade, whatever, to get that student to take what was happening to him in our program seriously, to hook him in, to con him, whatever it took to get him in, that was his job.

Now, with respect to the people who are doing the teaching for us, the only thing that we required of them was that they be competent in their own field, and we didn't require love and care and tenderness from them in terms of their interactions with our students. We said to them, "Just put your thing out there just like you would do it for any other student and our counselors will account for the students. That was the counselor's job. It turns out, I think, that probably the most remarkable facet of our program, at least during the first year, were the actions of our teacher-counselors.

Now, the reason I bring it up is I am not sure that it is necessary at all times to make sure that what you have in the top administrative slot is somebody who cares about and is sensitive to, and that kind of thing, to the student. He may be a damned good administrator, he may be a damned good teacher, but it seems to me that somewhere along the line, however, what you do need is somebody who works very closely and very intensively with that student, and I think another thing that we found, at least with respect to our students, was that where generally we tend to think of these type of students as lacking motivation and as lacking skills that are requisite for some kind of optimum performance in colleges, I think the more telling thing was that our students needed a protracted period of adjustment to the university situation. Now, unfortunately, in instances unlike our program, before the adjustment is made, the kid is already flunked out of college, so that a functional adjustment to a situation is never really realized by the student and I think that is tragic, at least for these kinds of kids.

MR. McCREARY: I like that, just because it is so practical that the idea of having teachers and directors perhaps not necessarily sensitive to young people, but have somebody sensitive. I think one good thing about that point of view is preparing them for the real world. I think it would be better for the real world, of college and high school, I think it would be better if you had sensitive people in a sense in terms of the whole educational impact of UPWARD BOUND, but the other aspect of preparing for reality, maybe that is the best you can do.

MR. HENDERSON: The other thing we were able to do was to guide the 100 kids ten to each teacher-counselor, and we said, "Those are your kids and you are responsible for them." A lot of very groovy things started to happen among the groups and among the counselors. You know, I think one of the really beautiful things that happened, we were very, very scared when we first looked at these kids because the average ACT score was nine, about the 11th percentile, and it really shook us. So we piled heaps of program instruction on these kids in English and in Math, particularly, and if it hadn't been for the counselors, I think we would have lost about 99 percent of the kids. And what the counselors, however, were able to do constantly was to explain to the kid, not in a very stilted kind of academic way but say, "Look at your ACT scores, and if you go up there to the university like that you will be wasted, and what you have to do, whether you like it or not, is to get this thing together," and it is that kind of interaction, I think, with the counselor that saved the kids.

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MR. McCREARY: I would think it would be totally wrong for me as a teacher or as a director to set forth to give them the one answer. And I think it would also be totally wrong to so structure the program by staff selection or by curriculum emphases to foreclose certain answers and to offer only other answers. So I would be delighted if next summer, as last summer, we had a range from militant separationists to militant integrationists, to have passive souls to people who thought the answer was to be found in the New or Old Testament. There ought to be a range of staff members. There ought to be a range of visitors coming in and there ought to be in the curriculum a lot of different kinds of alternatives.

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6. The desirability of inviting black militants to speak to UPWARD BOUND students.

FROM THE FLOOR: We are going to take the Saturday morning program and we are going to invite to the campus a number of people who represent a spectrum of opinion.

Now, I am not sure what a militant means. If it means that somebody hates me because I am white or who wants to bash me in my head because I am white, I am not particularly eager to have my head bashed in. But, if militant means that a person takes a very strong stand with regard to the necessity of some kind of rebellion, I can see the point in that.

However, it seems to me that [if] we are preparing these kids for college, or if we are preparing them just as human beings to think clearly about issues, we have the obligation to expose them to a variety of opinions to see to it that they have a chance to critically discuss what is presented to them. Therefore, if you have a panel of three or four people who are presenting a spectrum of opinion, I think that you have got to give the kids a chance to respond. I think that you have got to break up into small groups where, in an informal, non-directive situation, the kids can express their feelings with regard to each of the speakers. I think that you then have got to reconvene for another meeting with the panelists so that they can come forth with their views on the issues.

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MR. LEHECKA: This past summer [at Columbia University] we had quite a number of militants on the staff and we had Rap Brown come and speak to the kids. This was 300 kids. It wasn't like a small group. I think one of the things that helped us quite a bit was that we had students back for the third summer and these kids knew each other and liked each other pretty much. They had known each other for a long time and it was difficult for some of the kids in the program to say some of the things that some of the militants on the staff were saying because, they had been living [together] in a dormitory for a couple of years.

The big thing I noted this summer was how so many of the Negro kids were torn between friendships and loyalties they had had over the past two or three years and the larger movement that was going on in the country. I really didn't fear for any violence within our program because I knew the kids liked being there and they liked us.... When Rap Brown came and spoke, that was the greatest thing that happened all summer because it started kids talking again and it wasn't just black kids talking to each other, it was black and white kids talking....

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MR. McCREARY: .... We had Huey Newton, [a militant, speak,] who is now charged with shooting an Oakland policeman. He was a guest speaker last summer. I didn't feel that Huey Newton's coming to UPWARD BOUND would cause everyone to shoot policemen. They know that militant movements exist and why not let them be presented and discussed in an open forum....

Now, there is the kind of thing I will draw a line to, and I did draw a line when one of our staff members said, "we are taking a field trip to the Black Muslims." I am not opposed to the Black Muslims. Her class consisted of half black youngsters and half white youngsters. I said, "Can the white youngsters go?" She said, "They don't need to. If they want to go, they paint themselves brown." I said, "They can't do that." I said, "Unless all youngsters can visit, you can't make an UPWARD BOUND field trip." Huey Newton expresses more extreme views than Black Muslims. Now, maybe I should fear it but if I should fear it, then it would mean I am....not being able to air the alternatives that America needs to consider now....

I would like these brilliant, passionate young people to have an open field. The reason to do it at the campus is not that we have better than West Oakland but we have more. We can offer a much broader forum than what West Oakland can.

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MR. HASSON: These militant people you are going to have to deal with whether you want to or not. You sit around and talk, though, about them all day and how you are going to weed them out. They are here, they are here to stay, so you might as well start thinking about how you are going to cope with them, how you are going to deal with them to make your program effective.

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7. The importance of not overlooking the white youngster.

MRS. LEET: I would like to put in a word for the poverty white youngster. My staff, for example, in the summer, whether the staff is black or white, love the black kids and we go into that and what is wrong with my staff. I say to them when is the last time you saw a bunch of these raggle-taggle small urban Pennsylvania kids and a few stray rural types together saying, "We shall overcome?" They have got nothing. They have got no constituency. They have got nobody with them and they are very hard to peddle to colleges. They are very hard to peddle. The [colleges] don't want the white scruffy.... My white cripples, my white sad ones, my loners, they got nobody.

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FROM THE FLOOR: There are white kids in these programs, too, and it seems to me that any university running an UPWARD BOUND project has a responsibility not only for the black youngster but also for the white youngster. The handling of the black interest should be a concern of ours, but the reaction of the white kids and what it can do to them should also be an essential part of this discussion.

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MR. GOTTLIEB: The talk that I was going to give this afternoon dealt with a study of Negro and white youngsters in the Job Corps and Negro and white youngsters in the city high schools. I was looking at it in terms of winners and losers. If the poor kids who are in high school were where they should have been, they were the winners. If they were the losers, they were in the Job Corps.

What it really boils down to in terms of educational background, in terms of aggressiveness, in terms of self concept, in terms of success in making [it] both in the city high school and in the Job Corps, the most successful youngster was the urban Negro. The kid most likely to drop out was the white.... I talked to a variety of UPWARD BOUND directors who have told me that their major concern is with this white minority youngster -- whether he is an Appalachian coming from out of the hills, and so forth.

I have been rather disturbed about the mood here. There has been a great deal of talk about the black leader because he is better for the black kids. One of the things that I am raising is that UPWARD BOUND is for poor children.

MR. McCREARY: Our program has been in existence for a long time and by far the most disadvantaged youngsters in terms of falling apart have been the poor whites. We are talking about the city poor whites. We have had hardly any dropouts of black youngsters. A large part of them are making it into college. We have had virtually no white youngsters ever make it -- even hardly finished high school and none into college.

There is a reason and I think it is that the white youngsters that get recommended to us have to be so terribly messed up that they just really can't make it. Their family circumstances just really destroy them. We have had a lot of tragedies. I don't want to draw any other conclusions other than to say factually that the greatest problem that we have had has been with the poor whites.

FROM THE FLOOR: I would like to make a couple of comments on this. The Negro parents of our students are considerably more interested in education for their kids than the white parents are. There is no question about this in our program.

In fact, I haven't talked to a Negro parent yet who has not been vitally interested in the education of their kid. But, I can point out several white kids' parents who just don't give a damn and couldn't care less.

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8. The importance of continuing to focus on the development of skills.

MR. McCREARY:.... Shouldn't we basically emphasize more of the skills so we can get them ready for college,.... because this student engagement, this participation could take so much time there wouldn't be any time for the skills....

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MR. JOYCE: I am concerned with the emphasis.... I think the emphasis as I saw it when I assumed the position [as UPWARD BOUND director] was in the college program, college preparation. This has to be changed and the colleges must change. But it is not going to happen when this fellow is applying to get into college next year. This has to be worked for. I feel if we are going to help these boys and girls presently, we have to prepare them for the immediate future.

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FROM THE FLOOR: .... I submit to you, as far as our program is concerned next summer, social study is not going to be the tail that wags the dog. We are still going to concentrate on skills and attitudes in terms of the higher horizon of education. We are going to continue to try and build bridges of communication within our institution and with good will toward UPWARD BOUND on the part of the administration and faculty and the service personnel and the campus police and the community.

We are not going to invite activists to talk to our students....

We have a job to do with these kids, to get them ready for college and to help them survive in college, and that is what we are going to head towards and that is what we have always worked for in our program.

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MR. WILLIAMS: .... UPWARD BOUND is not really going to deal with the problems of rioting in a community. How can it?....

Who is kidding who? I think that we should talk about how to teach kids how to read, relative to some kind of job that they might be interested in. How can we talk about how UPWARD BOUND might be concerned with providing techniques and strategies and instruction? How UPWARD BOUND might provide and work with colleges so that the standards, as we talked about before, can be viewed in terms of the kids who want to get into these educational institutions.

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FROM THE FLOOR: I think that if UPWARD BOUND had a virtue, and I state "had" because I am disturbed that UPWARD BOUND is missing this virtue, the virtue was that it had an objective. And that objective is to take, I don't care what term you use, disenfranchised, alienated hostile, student who is otherwise cut out of the main stream of American life....

I feel that there is a tendency now to drift off into social reform, which, despite its imperative nature and its immediate relevance -- I think is a blunder. I think that it is a blunder because it is going to diffuse our efforts and our main interest from where it should be.

I would hate to see this happen to UPWARD BOUND on a national level. I think that it is too damned good a program academically.

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MR. STEWART: I think that no matter what we decide to do with UPWARD BOUND that as long as we agree that at least part of the goal or the end of UPWARD BOUND involves college, we have got to help these kids understand what college is like now.

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MR. JONES: .... A very sensitive boy talked with me for a long time about his experiences in UPWARD BOUND. He said, "I don't know if this has been a good thing for me at all or not. In fact, I am scared." He said, "Two years ago, before I got into this program, nobody could have told me that I was black. I would not have accepted it. I believed in religion and just thought that it was the answer to everything. But now I am in this program and I know that I am black, I have found that out, and I don't have the same kind of faith as I have encountered a lot of people who don't believe in religion and I find out that they are people that I don't respect and I don't know what to do about that."

But he said, "The one thing that I do know is that I will never be satisfied -- I may not be happier and I may not be more contented with the world -- but I will never be satisfied with the kind of life that I was leading or thought that I was leading before."

It does seem to me that this is the kind of crucial cross that you bear in a program of this sort. We are committed to the proposition of opening these things up -- opening up as a kind of way of life for these people is a valuable thing for them -- and recognizing that in many respects it may not make them happy, it may not make them more contented or anything else....

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9. Some specific program recommendations.

MR. SOMERVILLE: I am concerned that we can talk about the system needs changing and that we can talk about and suggest the changes for the system. I would like to address myself to the latter....

I would like to point out that I don't think that there is anything that we can't do if we decide we want to do it. I can think of no organization better equipped to meet a crisis this summer which I indeed think that we are involved in other than OEO and namely, the UPWARD BOUND organization which is already geared to deal with youths.

I would like to make some concrete suggestions as to the way I would like to see UPWARD BOUND expand itself at least fourfold this summer. I don't think that you can say that it is doing its job unless it sees itself increasing at least fourfold.

One thing, I think that we should think in terms of keeping high schools open this summer. I think that we should seriously question whether UPWARD BOUND is doing for high schools what high schools should do for themselves, and that is, by default, allowing high schools to remain inadequate, allowing students who have a negative feeling toward the high school, have a wonderful summer, and then go back to their high school feeling that it is very poor.

We have a national thing happening now, it seems to me, in that we have spoken so long and so strongly against public schools that we have finally diminished public confidence in those schools so that they could hardly do anything if they wanted to in many cases. Counseling loads in San Francisco are 750 youngsters per counselor. That is not counseling, that is programming. I think that we should stop criticizing the counselor and realize that she couldn't do her job if she wanted to.

I think that we should think in terms of all of those feeder high schools to UPWARD BOUND programs in terms of being kept open by the UPWARD BOUND program. That they initiate some special programs at those high schools that would allow things to happen that have never happened. Ghetto people are saying that they are not allowed to take the courses that they want to take. They are saying that they are not allowed to be the man that they want to be. They are saying they are tracked out of these courses.

I would suggest that we have two things in the summer: One, would be in the morning to have an academic program open to anybody who wants to take it and, if you will, we would teach it with university students, college students, which I think we could supply in California from the University system and from the State College system.

I would suggest that in the afternoon those high schools offer something that the schools have never endeavored to get involved in, but which youngsters are bound in, and that is the arts -- performing, poetry, music, dance, and what have you.

I have never come across a ghetto in which there wasn't an abundance of poetry, which, in my estimation, is a sophisticated form of English or expression, if you will. Yet, these are the youngsters that are flunking in English. But, I don't think that this needs to continue....

I think that we should think in terms of a professions intern program [in] which students would be used off campus in various professions. I have asked the School of Medicine at the University of California if they would be willing to take high school students as orderly trainees, if you will, for an exposure in the hospital, to become a doctor, because we are very interested in getting more minority doctors. Dentists, pharmacists, optometrists -- there is one optometrist per five years who is a black man at Berkeley campus of the University of California.

There are no Negro professional foresters in America -- probably less than ten.

There are 10,000 dentists in California and yet, there are less than 200 black men that are dentists in California.

In other words, virtually, there is nobody going into these areas. Why couldn't it be with our 11th graders that we place them in what you might call a professions intern program in which we ask various professions to take youngsters on as interns, something far beyond the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Something where we are talking about kids who want to go somewhere and get them involved in doing those things.

I would hope that we certainly wouldn't think of ending this conference without taking some strong stands ourselves in regards to testing. Right now the world is becoming geared to the man who is the high scorer. I did not say high achiever, I said high scorer. I think that that is very serious.

We have evidence in Berkeley that not only is the black man being eliminated, and he is. We have just gone on a six-hour admission examination at the University of California. But, so is the white middle class creative youngster, or the black creative youngster, or the Mexican-American Creative youngster, being eliminated because he is a poor scorer. I think that this is very serious.

There is every indication that there is more emphasis on testing in America than ever before and that there will be even more emphasis.

I think that it is important that we think in terms of costs. There is more indication, as I mentioned yesterday, that colleges are starting to cost more and more all the time. This is certainly going to affect the minority and low income person before it affects anyone else. There are indications that less people -- the recent statistics are that 1.9 percent of the entering freshman entering college this year are black people and there are three times as many women as men in that 1.9 percent. That is still the 2 percent level which have always had in America, made up of minority persons in higher education.

I would hope that UPWARD BOUND would ask for and get priority consideration for money for their students that go to the university -- EOG money, Federal Opportunity Grant money, NDEA money, Work-Study Program money -- jobs during the summer of an academically related nature.

We are now placing university students at Berkeley as assistant counselors in high schools -- full time and part time. We give them full credit, academic credit, for their work and we pay them under the Work-Study Program. It is working very effectively. We are getting more students in the university than in the history of these high schools, who are of minority and low-income background.

I would hope that we would ask for more commitment from the sponsoring colleges of UPWARD BOUND. I am getting requests from all over the nation from UPWARD BOUND programs to please take your youngsters. I am writing back to say that it is your job to take your own youngsters. It isn't for you to ask from such and such a state across the nation if we will take that man in Berkeley, because that costs twice as much as taking two students ourselves.

I would hope that we would see more in the way of commitment on the part of the sponsoring institutions to take people that they are dealing with. This is relating to UPWARD BOUND in two frames of reference: One, primarily that it is an academic program to get people to live up to the goals that they have set for themselves academically, but the other is to get people to live up to their goals, whether they go on to school or not, by improving the high schools, far beyond from what they are now. One day we might get involved in the junior colleges, which in California need an awful lot of improvement.

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FROM THE FLOOR: .... We had the kids role playing. We had them play the kids on the corner and we had some of them play the cops and we then reversed the roles.

The kids got to talking as they played the roles and they perceived, for example, and these were all Negro kids, they perceived that the kid whose father was a little better off could throw his weight around politically [and] didn't get the rap the same way that the poor kid got the rap....

They also perceived that some cops were fairly decent guys. They perceived that some cops were rats. They perceived that in many cases there was a complete breakdown in communications. But, they didn't necessarily blame the cop, they just saw that they did not have a way of communicating.

In other words, I think the kids were pretty sharp -- maybe I am naive on this -- but I think that they were very sharp in picking up the different ends of the police. I think that it would do the cops a lot of good to know how sharp the kids are, how they can make distinctions and how they don't come forth on all counts together.

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MR. McCREARY: .... Last year there was a very grave likelihood of a rising in Oakland and our youngsters would have taken part -- a number of them would have -- but they weren't about to start a rising at the university because one of the things that they could do at the university was to talk about their anger and the justice of their anger and what the likelihood would be if they did rise in Oakland.

I am suggesting that in the program they should have a chance to talk about what's wrong and to consider alternatives and to express in all kinds of creative ways their feelings about these alternatives. This, it seems to me, is absolutely right. Now, I wouldn't engage in this as ways of putting down the riot in Oakland, but I would engage in them if it is a way to help the young people grow in their understanding of society and in their confidence in themselves in working their way through the problems of society. This, I consider to be a strategy.

I will give you a couple of examples. One, would be that in the classrooms a maximum opportunity [should be given] for young people to talk about what really troubles them, to really analyze it, to really feel about it and to express their feelings. Two, would be that in the structure of the program, you have a continuing on-going way in which young people can express their grievances, their difficulties, their worries, their hangups and their objections directly to the leadership of the program so that the leadership can do something about it.

In other words, I am talking about a student government which is not a paper government at all, but which is a continuing committee of grievances so that at all times, if there is something wrong, we can do something about it. I think both of these things I would consider to be strategies that might reduce the likelihood of the university being burned down....

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MRS. BROWN: I would like to suggest something we tried in Cleveland last year prior to the close of school in June that we felt had some positive effects. Recognizing the tension in the inner-city schools, I asked the superintendent if we could possibly call a meeting at the Board of Education, a meeting in which youngsters would be represented from all of the 15 or 20 inner-city junior high schools in one session and all of the eight, nine or ten senior high school inner-city schools in another session, looking carefully at the kinds of youngsters that we brought in: Student council leaders, yes; members of the honor society, yes; but also youngsters that we knew were organizers of gangs, anti-social behavior kind of groups.

We had ten to twelve youngsters from each school representing a cross section of youngsters who were involved in constructive community school affairs but also those who were considered members of the out-group. Student council advisors brought these kids in. Shortly after they came, we forthrightly invited them to go back to their schools because we wanted this to be a student-oriented conference. We turned the youngsters loose in the Board of Education in three or four rooms. We gave them about an hour and a half to two hours to brainstorm what they felt were their problems, not ours but theirs as they saw them. This relates to racial tension, economic problems, juvenile delinquency on the street, et cetera, et cetera. After about an hour and a half we brought the groups back together. We had a youngster who was selected by each group to serve as spokesman and from these youngsters we learned. We learned more about how they saw their school, their teachers, their counselors, their administrators, we saw what they thought about their parents. They often said, "One of our major problems is that our parents and other adult images preach one thing and live another. We resent this."

They, for example, said, "If the power structure of the city, the political structure is really interested in doing something for us and to help us, why do they not find ways to support an organization like the community police relations board which has set up a PAL agency which has helped to convert former gangs into clubs that serve the community positively and in fact help younger youngsters to identify more positively with the community and the school?"

These youngsters talked about the benefits of rioting, pro and con, and they got into some hot debates because naturally there were youngsters there representing different orientations and philosophies. We found that some of our youngsters were members of a recently organized Communiversity in Cleveland where Black Power is taught. I won't get into how they do this, but it was a kind of an indoctrination program and it was clear that these youngsters were often in direct conflict with what they call the goody-goody students.

But, all and all, out of this we came up with some real things that we could come to grips with, things that were taken back into the schools, back into the student council and, incidentally, there were a few UPWARD BOUND students involved in this. I think that one of the ways we can help at least in getting youngsters to talk openly and realistically about rioting, racial conflict, social conflict, economic blocs, et cetera, is to bring cross sections of youngsters together, cross sections of youngsters to sit down and learn from each other, draw from each other, because their leadership is still much more effective than that which we can offer. We found this a powerful thing. It got tremendous press coverage.

This is another interesting thing: When the people from the press came in and began to ask the youngsters to share the outcome of this conference, one of the first questions that a boy.... raised to the press was: "Are you going to write what we said or are you going to write what you want us to say, or what you feel that we should have said?" And until they were assured that what they said was going to be printed exactly, they would not communicate at all with the press.

* * *

10. UPWARD BOUND and its effects on colleges and universities.

MR. BALZER: ....With a number of UPWARD BOUND programs being affiliated with predominantly white colleges, and with the increasing demand that these colleges make commitments to the students, what you can begin to realize is that just allowing a kid in doesn't solve the problem. I think that a lot of the problem is that there is not appropriate staff at these universities to deal with these kids who effectively understand where these kids are at and are able to deal with their problems....

* * *

MR. KING: I wonder at what point there is some real pulling together of a larger cross section of the faculty to begin to talk to them? Not only the faculty, what about the people who run the dining rooms, the people who run the library, the people who run all the services? At some point....that has got to get across because.....I don't know how you are really talking about changing these institutions if the only people that are involved is the project director and maybe a couple of faculty members and other people who get brought into the situation. It seems to me that you have got to go across the line and the orientation that is needed is with the faculty, with all parts of the staff and administration....

MR. TURSI: ....The university commitment has to be spelled out much more in detail than it is spelled out now.

For instance, we got a commitment in writing from our university that the criteria for [UPWARD BOUND students] would not be the criteria normally applied to the university. We went to the Dean, who was then head of the Undergraduate school, and said, "How about erasing whole semesters of "F" for students and just not putting them in the record, so in case this kid doesn't make it here and wants to go some place else and we can find him a seat in another school, he doesn't take that chain along with him of a string of F's if anything else fails. He said, "Wonderful." Then we had a change in deans and we had to renegotiate from there. We blew it because we didn't get from our university in writing a statement of position....

MR. BALZER: ....How can you tell kids in your program that you are after getting them into college when your college doesn't make any commitment to any kids in your program. I think a lot of programs have to face that. I have spent a great deal of my time on what we will call university reform, and universities aren't monolithic. I think the way change occurs in universities is one of the biggest issues [at this conference]. The way to change a university is not to take it on where it is strong,....but there is a great way to get a university to change, and that is to cause embarrassment to the university. ....Universities can be hit where academics are most vulnerable, and that is where they stand intellectually and where they can be embarrassed. That is just practical....

FROM THE FLOOR: One very practical way I think you can effect change here, since the project director has the right to hire the staff, I'd try hiring those faculty members that will teach the freshmen courses that usually causes the high attrition rate. I have a lot of freshmen councilees. We guide UPWARD BOUND kids into classes that UPWARD BOUND people have been teaching, which puts a rather dual responsibility on them to see that their efforts have not gone for naught.

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MR. MORALES: A basic point in our discussion....is the whole business of acceptance within the academic community. [Take] my own experience, for instance, within Purdue University.... What I felt was communicated to me by vice-presidents or people at that level [was] "We are getting pressure from the Feds to get some administration types, some black people at the top administrative levels." They were looking and searching wildly and wondering where they could find these people. What we are saying is that this pool of people exists but there wasn't a heck of a lot going on relative to seeking [them out]. There was an awful lot of discussion at the vice-presidential luncheons about, you know, how much do we pay, where do we get them, do we get one that is right. You see, we have got this problem within the university. I think we are talking about how UPWARD BOUND and how we as educators can begin to affect some changes....at top administrative levels. ....Academic acceptance within the university community is something that has to happen.

For instance, I felt isolated because I had no academic rank; that was a gimmick that Purdue used [when] they brought me in as an administrative assistant type. Then when the academic community began to talk with me, they really didn't want to talk with me, they wanted to talk with the professor who worked in my program in the English or in the Math, somebody who had tenure rank.... They are not really looking and saying, "You know, this person has value as an academic. There is value in having this person at the top administrative slot and we need to get him and we need to aggressively seek him out."....

* * *

MR. FIELD: A very real danger is the university doesn't have to listen to you. They can shut the door and that is all....

MR. GROVES: ....It is enormously difficult to get the university system to affect the kind of changes that I am interested in hearing you discuss this morning. ....I think it is terribly unrealistic to think that you can affect much of a change in the total university program. I think that your efforts have got to be concentrated on the UPWARD BOUND program, as such, and if you really think that this is a device for affecting overall change, certainly in any near future, I think that is visionary. I don't think this program has that kind of clout, as the word is used.

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MR. FIELD: As for an example of fostering changes in the college program, last year we had a boy breaking some windows and the college president called him in and said he would have to be off the campus by night. We said, "It is impossible." He said, "We will have to get rid of him." He said, "If this is a regular college student, he would be removed." I said, "He is an UPWARD BOUNDER." He said, "He will have to go." I said, "If he goes, I guarantee you you will not have an UPWARD BOUND program next year." I said, "I won't endorse it and there will be no UPWARD BOUND next year." He said, "This will mean $10,000 or $12,000 to the college," and I said, "Yes."

And the same thing has happened with our Dean. The Dean has said we are not going to make exceptions for UPWARD BOUND students. I say you have already signed the contract, you have accepted the UPWARD BOUND philosophy, you have gotten money, you have to make the exception. You have to push the college and university people to make these changes. You have to win them. You have to coerce them. You have to scare them, and I think changes can be made and must be made.

MR. HENDERSON: I would like to share some of the experiences I have had at Southern Illinois University. We saw our mission not as to change the university, we said the hell with them and all we want is those 100 kids and the right to teach those kids and the right to get them over in the university.

We said to the university, "Your failure rate with these kids has been in excess of 90 percent for the last ten years and it is demonstrated by the record that you can't do it and we believe that we can, so leave us alone and the only thing that we require from you is what is necessary to get these kids over...." ....Our position was we don't want our kids involved with those kids [in the regular program except].... in the most tangential way, if any way at all. And what we are able to do is to establish a spirit among our kids that convinced them, whether rightly or wrongly, and I think rightly now, that the kind of education that they were getting was a hell of a lot better than the ordinary kid was getting in the wider university.

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MR. FROST: You asked me for my judgment about how changeable they are in the colleges.... I think we will start admitting all kinds of kids who don't meet our conventional test standards, and so forth, but we are not going to change Page 9 of that catalog. That catalog says we are an excellent institution, and you have read that damn catalog, no matter where you are. They all read alike and no faculty is going to vote to reduce its standards.

On the other hand, my guess is, and I am really quite optimistic about this, lots of faculties are uneasy and trying to find ways to admit all kinds of kids who aren't conventionally measured. That is my experience, but I would like to hear from others....

MR. TURSI: I think it is rather obvious that it is too little too late in all circumstances. We made in Buffalo our token response, and to do this, we waived admissions requirements completely, and our kids went as much as three standard deviations off the mean. That was done administratively. Now, this whole pursuit of excellence is creating a situation on campus where these kids are going to be washed out despite the little academic administrative devices that we can come up with to keep them in school because of standards which were apparently not appropriate when admitted, and I don't think the academic can live with this.

MR. FROST: We did with foreign students, Tony, everywhere in America. Did you ever talk to a college that didn't give every foreign college student a break and denied it every time?

MR. SOMMERVILLE: There was a significant difference in this case. The kids might be able to accept these foreign kids, might be able to accept the paternalism because they haven't been smarting under it for 18 years. But when you obviously are patronizing a guy who has got a very sore spot from being patted on the head,....he has a whole different view from the foreign student. The foreign student has a language hangup which he can accept with dignity, but the other thing is not for real. And I think this year will tell on a lot of college campuses which way it is going to go, and I hope the political hassle doesn't so cloud the issue that we are forced into a defensive position when really the evidence is with us, those of us that hold that the standards are not sacrosanct....

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MR. SOMMERVILLE: ....There is hardly an institution in the United States that doesn't bring in people who it wants. The analogy that you gave of the foreign student is an example; the man who doesn't share the culture, much less the language. At the University of California we set up four special language programs so that a man picks up the language and we can start him at the fourth frame if we have to. This is at the University fully admitted.

Now, the other example is the football player, that is, we don't care what his academic policy is, we don't care how much money he needs, we don't care what color he is, we don't care how much academic assistance he has needed, we will get him in.

MR. FROST: And through.

MR. SOMMERVILLE: That is correct. And the other example is the violin virtuoso, we will get him and we will bring him.

* * *

MR. COHEN: It seems what UPWARD BOUND ought to be doing is not attacking standards but redefining standards, and again talking with the university and describing what that university might look like. What standards, truly standards of excellence, might be [established] in a university which has seen these kids, taken them and seen to it that they get through. By constantly attacking standards and scoffing at standards, I think we are not talking politically.

MR. FROST: It is probably a serious style problem. You are making a plea for a different mix of standards rather than the current mix.

* * *

11. An alternative to funding universities.

MR. KING: There may be some 90 Colleges in Boston within throwing distance of the ghetto. I doubt in many years if we get 90 youngsters into those schools. What I am concerned about is that we continue to feel and believe that those educational institutions are going to change and we continue to put resources into those educational institutions to further screw up a lot of black youngsters and poor youngsters. And I am wondering when we get to the point where we put the resources into the hands of the community and then let them go to institutions and get other people to develop whatever kinds of programs are appropriate to meet the needs of the youngsters. And you can do it either from the standpoint of that community developing the program itself or making universities bid, like they did for UPWARD BOUND perhaps, for that little bit of money.... I don't believe that most of the universities are in UPWARD BOUND because they are really concerned. We have had industry and others get into this because they can make some money out of it. If we change that relationship and put the power into the hands of the community and then let people who really want to do something come to the community and show and say what they are going to be able to do to move youngsters, then I think we will see a difference.

MR. TURSI: I don't see these things to be mutually exclusive. I don't see the resources as being so limited that we can't have both approaches going at the same time, and I think we need both ....

MR. KING: I say if you really want to get to it and talk about all of these programs.... put them in the community, then you will see some kind of change.

.... Let's start changing the relationship.... Put the university in the communities and then see what happens.

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IV PLENARY SESSIONS

[Plenary sessions of the conference were held on Thursday morning and afternoon, January 18th, and on Friday morning, January 19th. It was during these sessions that the conference's "black caucus" presented a position paper (Thursday morning); that the conference debated the highly controversial question of whether to recommend that all projects be directed by individuals whose background mirrored that of the largest ethnic or racial grouping in the project (Thursday afternoon); and that other issues, such as the place of community groups in UPWARD BOUND, were commended to OEO for action (Friday morning).

[Unlike the topical organization of the summary of the Group session, this section has been organized so as to retain the drama of the plenary sessions. They are presented sequentially, and within each plenary sessions the development of the issues and debate may be followed. It is hoped that the flavor of these sessions has been retained, although extensive deletions have had to be made in order to conserve space. - ed.]

Thursday morning, January 18:

[Dr. Billings opened a short plenary session by introducing some representatives of the conference's "black caucus," which had been meeting at various times during the first few days.]

MR. BILLINGS: Tuesday morning I said if we had special rump sessions or special caucuses, we would get rooms for that purpose. We have had at least one group wanting that. They have asked for an hour this morning to present a position paper. We are encouraging our projects to be flexible. I think an UPWARD BOUND conference should be flexible. Therefore, we have changed the schedule a bit this morning to accommodate that group. Theoretically, it is to take an hour. You may have wishes to change that as it rolls along this morning. If not, about an hour from now you will meet in the regular work sessions. We had an obscure request to change programs on the afternoon schedule. That may be done, so perhaps some of this hour deliberation this morning can be continued later this afternoon.

I would like to introduce Preston Wilcox, who has had much to do with this caucus, who will take it from here. Preston.

MR. WILCOX: Thanks a lot, Tom. This morning we would like to present to the total conference a position paper developed by some of the black guys here because it was kind of a feeling that the black guys of America have something special to say about the content and nature of the form of our society and that we have a kind of a unique role because of the way we have been excluded. This statement deals specifically with the UPWARD BOUND programs and we would like to request that it be put in the record of the conference. Mr. Alan Clarke will read the statement, and we are not asking for a vote on it or anything of this nature, but he will respond to questions of clarification. And during that period, since various people who helped to develop the paper wrote various sections of it, I would like to call on them to respond to questions of clarity that deal with the pieces of the paper which they wrote.

MR. CLARKE: The first part of this paper deals with the basic premise underlying the black position regarding the direction of UPWARD BOUND programs.

[Mr. Clarke then read the position paper, the text of which follows. In this report we have used the text as distributed to the entire conference later in the day. The versions are virtually the same except that No. VI, concerning an annual conference of black personnel involved with UPWARD BOUND, had not yet been written. -ed.]

A BLACK POSITION PAPER

January 18, 1968

The concerns of Black Americans have been effectively excluded from America's agenda. Such concepts as American Idealism, the American Dream, Democracy, and egalitarianism developed at a time in this Nation's history when a black person represented 3/5 of a white person in the determination of Congressional Districts. Subsequent efforts to correct this historical inequity have been made against a backdrop of white supremacist policies. The failure to effectively enforce laws designed to include blacks as people have had the impact of condoning white supremacy views.

The reality of racism and its benefit to white Americans in economic, political and physical terms suggests that this reality will remain. It is in the self-interest of white people to promote and sustain the suppression of black people. If this is a valid position, then a program designed to unlock the potential of black students must be built on a philosophy which recognizes racism for what it is -- a deliberate effort to keep black people in subordinate roles in relation to whites.

The rationale for a black position arises from the recognition that it is the ultimate responsibility of the black people to ensure that their concerns are included on the society's agenda. The experience learned from oppression; the drive to appeal to the white conscience; and the current thrust to assert black consciousness have provided black people with special insights and experiences. These special insights and experiences, combined with a recognition of the reality of racism, form the basic premise on which the black position is contracted.

I. BLACK LEADERSHIP

Recommendation: That OEO require any UPWARD BOUND project that has a majority of black participants to have a black director - preferably male.

Reasons:

1. So that the focus, attitudes, and experience of the leadership of the project may be sympathetic to and understanding of the particular needs of black youngsters;

2. So that the traditional and destructive example of the number two position's being saved for the black man may be removed and black children may see their projects in the hands of black men with whom they can identify;

3. So that black children may be presented with black role models and through this mechanism learn that black people are important and develop a realistic sense of self-importance;

4. So that the self-fulfilling prophecy of failure initiated and perpetuated in black youth by racism may be reversed. The subscription of black youth to this myth must be dealt with on two levels: the intrinsic and the extrinsic. The major extrinsic method of attacking this situation is to present black models of position and power. Once this is done then we can begin to discuss with black youth the proposition that they can achieve self success.

II. CURRICULA

A major objective of an UPWARD BOUND program, must be to increase the black child's academic competence. He must acquire and develop the education and skills that help him to succeed. Inherent in any program that is designed to serve black youth from the racial and economic ghettos of America is the hidden danger of causing the black youth to reject their homes and communities. Attention must be paid to the cultures, values, and environments of the program participants, but this is not enough.

The life of the child must become the program. His blackness, his home, his community must become the vehicle. The workshop approach is particularly relevant, e.g., a workshop developed around the issue of ghetto housing would at the same time allow black students to do several things. It would allow him to assess himself and his community; it would allow the black student to understand the economics of his community and economics in general; it would allow him to become the agent for change in his own life.

III. PARENT PARTICIPATION

Greater emphasis must be placed on efforts to help black parents to acquire the skills to support the education of their children and to hold UPWARD BOUND accountable for the effective education of their children. Parents should be provided opportunities to become fully conversant with the program and to understand its function in modifying the life chances of their children.

Selected skills which parents should be helped to acquire are as follows:

a. ability to help their children to want to learn

b. ability to help their children talk with them about that which is going on in the classroom

c. ability to help their children to present their concerns in the classroom

d. ability to evaluate what's going on in the classroom

e. ability to ask the right questions during school visitations

f. knowledge of parent rights and how to exercise them.

IV. COMMUNITY CONTROL: THE MULTIPLIER EFFECT

The UPWARD BOUND procedure of giving the resources to Colleges and Universities for programs perpetuates the isolation of the educational institutions from community involvement and control -- and places additional power over what happens to black youth into institutions that have historically been unable to deal either emotionally or technically with the needs of black youth.

This isolation has served to cut off any chance that the program will have a multiplier effect in the black community which begins when we recognize first that the black community has to say that education is important -- and that it is said best when the black community involved is in control of the resources -- and is responsible for developing the educational programs.

The participation in the problem solving processes involved in developing the program, managing the resources, and assessing its impact will pay additional dividends in community development. This process furthers the role model and identification processes important for black youth and puts black parents in the position of being advocates for black youth.

The community-based group has the alternatives of (1) developing its own educational program or (2) subcontracting to educational institutions pieces of the program.

The subcontracting forces institutions of higher education to respond to needs as interpreted by the community and requires that they respond to the issue of increasing the number of UPWARD BOUNDERS they admit. The restructuring and developing of programs to promote a meaningful college experience should occur.

V. ADMISSION OF UPWARD BOUND GRADUATES TO PRESTIGIOUS SPONSORING INSTITUTIONS[1]

It appears that the majority of UPWARD BOUND graduates are concentrated in large numbers in Negro colleges in the South, such as Dillard, Southern, etc. This concentration suggests that large northern state universities are abandoning a responsibility for admitting their own UPWARD BOUND students to their educational programs, and are "shipping them out" to other institutions. Without suggesting that it is undesirable to have large numbers of UPWARD BOUND students at Negro colleges, it should be noted that the very changes in institutionalized public education that OEO is seeking to realize are being circumvented by this state of affairs. Large state universities have both a moral and a legal obligation to educate youngsters from all segments of the population and the very small trickle of UPWARD BOUND students presently in residence at these institutions in no way suggests that they have come to grips with those obligations.

More serious, however, is the fact that the larger more prestigious colleges seem unwilling, for whatever the reasons, to admit large numbers of UPWARD BOUND students, even the students from their own UPWARD BOUND programs. It may also be the case that the present concentration of large numbers of UPWARD BOUND students in the southern colleges may reach a saturation point and unless the larger colleges are willing to admit these youngsters they will have no place to go. Mention should also be made of the fact that if the larger colleges are able to accept UPWARD BOUND programs, they should also be able to accept the responsibility for admitting them (in larger numbers) into their own structures.

It is, therefore, recommended that OEO establish guidelines that require host institutions to admit some minimum percentage of their UPWARD BOUND students. More than this, it should require that these institutions establish within their structures supportive, academic and other appropriate components that will contribute to successful education experiences for these students. In this regard, it is necessary for OEO to assist in the development of financial and other resources necessary for the realization of this aim.

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[1] The support for this position can be supported by the statistics on college enrollment that appeared in the most recent issue of Idea Exchange.

VI. ANNUAL BLACK CONFERENCE

Recommendation: That OEO/UPWARD BOUND fund an annual meeting of black UPWARD BOUND personnel and black consultants selected by the black membership.

TWO POSSIBLE MODELS FOR UPWARD BOUND PROGRAMS: FACTORS AND FUNCTIONS[1]

GRANTING AGENCY

MODEL A College Controlled		MODEL B[2] Community Controlled
FUNCTIONS:	FACTORS:	FUNCTIONS
In Control	College	Consultant Employee
Responsible to College	Project Director	Responsible to Community
Less Relevant	Curriculum	More Relevant
Toward Alienation from Roots	Students	Toward Identification and Agent of Change
Little Access	Parent Participation	Easy Access

[1] The differential functions noted between Models A and B are probable, not necessarily absolute. The differences being posed here are for discussion only.

[2] In Model B, the community can develop and conduct its own program or subcontract with colleges to conduct all or parts of the program.

[After the presentation of the Black Postion Paper, several speakers suggested that the paper contained many important ideas which should be placed before the group. It was suggested and agreed that efforts would be made to reproduce copies of the paper for all members of the conference, and that its substance would form the basis of discussion during the afternoon plenary sessions.

[The plenary was then adjourned and the conference resumed meeting in group sessions. -ed.]

Thursday afternoon, January 18:

[After a short adjournment following Dr. Lash's talk, the conference reconvened in plenary session anticipating discussion of the black position paper. Dr. David Gottlieb, who had been scheduled to deliver a speech on this occasion, had agreed to give up his time, and was presiding. As the session began, Mr. Alan Clarke, Dr. Preston Wilcox, and Mr. Charles Johnson were at the rostrum, as representatives of the Black Caucus to respond to questions. The position paper (reprinted on page 85) and the following resolution were distributed.

RESOLUTION - "We recommend that the conferees of the UPWARD BOUND Winter Conference resolve that UPWARD BOUND programs with a majority of black students be directed by a black person, preferably male."

[Initial questions concerned procedural matters and the extent to which the black representatives considered it appropriate to defend or elaborate on the position paper. -ed.]

MR. GOTTLIEB: ... Now, following the discussion of the position paper, the resolution which was presented yesterday and approved by one workshop but then discussed once again in this room will be read once more and some final decision made about that. But there are actually, at this point, two separate issues. The position paper, which represents the thinking of the black group at the conference, and the resolution, are separate.

Now, once again for clarification, this is a position paper for discussion only, and will not be resulting in a vote. Although this position paper does incorporate a resolution discussed earlier, that will be presented separately when this discussion is completed. We are now ready and open for discussion ...

FROM THE FLOOR: I would like to know whether the implication of the first couple of pages of this paper, and also some of the statements in it, are that no UPWARD BOUND programs can be integrated? There are statements in here like, "A major objective of an UPWARD BOUND program must be to increase the black child's academic competence." and I don't see why the qualifier, why it has to be just "increase the black child's academic competence," and I am not sure how some of the recommendations at the beginning of the paper fit in with the idea that an UPWARD BOUND program can have whites and blacks or Mexican-Americans and blacks or Indians and whites, or whatever. It just seems to me that this is the implication of the paper, and I would like to ask if it is.

MR. CLARKE: I think that question is answered by looking at the title page. It is a black position paper. When you write a position paper on French people, you don't address your remarks to Indians. It is simply a black position paper ...

I think that something like half of the children in UPWARD BOUND are black, therefore, I think it is reasonable to feel that a major objective of UPWARD BOUND should be to increase the black child's confidence in what comes after that.

FROM THE FLOOR: All I am asking, I think it just takes a yes or no, is the implication of the paper that a program serve only black students or only non-black students?

MR. CLARKE: I think, you know, that we need to confine our remarks to what the paper says.

MR. McCREARY: Maybe what is being asked is should a program which has at least half or more black students than other students, have a somewhat specialized approach for such students as are black. I think that is the question that I might ask.

MR. WILCOX: Actually, our intent is not really to discuss the paper but to answer any questions you might have about it. This is a position paper, you know, and I would like you to not refer to inferences but refer to anything in the statement that needs clarification.

MR. McCREARY: I am not criticizing the paper.

MR. WILCOX: I am not assuming you are criticizing it.

MR. McCREARY: If you had a program where half the children were black or more than half the children were black, does the paper mean that those children only should receive a certain kind of education and other children should receive another kind?

MR. WILCOX: This paper addresses itself to black kids and I am saying that it seems to me it is obvious from the paper that this is a black position paper. This is not a position on white kids or German kids. It is a view of black people about what ought to happen to black kids.

* * *

FROM THE FLOOR: I have a question, on Page 6 at the bottom, Item VI, it says: "Recommendation: That OEO/UPWARD BOUND fund an annual meeting of black UPWARD BOUND personnel and black consultants selected by the black membership." And my question is what is the purpose of that and what do you visualize as the result of an annual black conference?

MR. CLARKE: I think it would provide a means of assembling in one place a large number of black people involved in the UPWARD BOUND program and would provide an opportunity for these people to bring to bear some of the particular insights into the problems of black children that black people just would naturally have. I think that is just simply the rationale.

MR. WILCOX: ... One of the premises of this paper is that the black people are essentially excluded from the informal channels of influence. If you look at the way which the other groups have gotten to the main stream, black groups have had to use formal channels to get what other groups did through informal channels, and we would say that in terms of access that the OEO and UPWARD BOUND does not have the same access to what I would call a kind of black position that it has, say, to the white position. And when I talk about white position, I am talking about essentially the white race's position: that they (OEO) have greater access to information from whites than they do from the black community ...

The White House Conference started off with this kind of an effort to reach into the black community, and since the rebellions, I have gotten maybe 25 calls to come to Washington and tell them what is happening in the ghetto. So there is a tradition for calling black people together, and other groups also, Indians, Germans, what-have-you, around particular issues, and our position here because of the black people, the kind of society that they have lived in and their peculiar insights, we think the OEO and UPWARD BOUND, and even other agencies, ought to afford themselves of these insights.

[A number of conference participants attempted to introduce aspects of the position paper for general discussion. Dr. Wilcox, however, who was answering questions on the paper from the rostrum wanted to move to a discussion of the Black Caucus resolution. Thus he attempted to deflect discussion of the paper so that the group could move to the resolution. His unwillingness to discuss the paper gave the impression that members of the Black Caucus were being obstinate in refusing to deal with issues they had raised. A certain degree of confusion and mistrust developed as a result of apparent refusal of the Black Caucus to enter into a discussion of the paper. -ed.]

... We are here to clarify questions and that ought to be clear. It may be frustrating but that is what we are here for and we don't want to get involved in discussing implementation or how you feel about it. Really, we want you to be exposed to it and then you can discuss it in small groups or at night in the rooms, and so forth ...

MR. MORALES: I thought I heard Gene asking a question in terms of clarification.

MR. WILCOX: Gene?

MR. McCREARY: I don't want to ask anything if it is impolite. (LAUGHTER)

MR. WILCOX: Don't let us intimidate you.

MR. McCREARY: I don't inimidate easily.

MR. WILCOX: We are not here to intimidate. Gene, we will answer any questions of clarification and then after that, Al and I will leave the rostrum. You had a question?

* * *

MR. HASSON: They don't have to discuss anything with you that they don't want to. Now, after they leave the stage, if you want to move that the conference discuss the paper, well and good, then you can discuss all you want to. But if these people don't want to discuss this paper with you, they just don't want to discuss it with you, and that is it.

MR. GOTTLIEB: If you have questions of clarification that at this point you want to direct specifically to these two gentlemen, please do so. I have no control over whether they respond or not.

MR. McCREARY: I would like to ask the basic question as to whether this is a form of communication or an incident?

MR. WILCOX: Take a choice.

[The conference moved to consideration of the original resolution as proposed by the Black Caucus:

["We recommend that the Conferees of the UPWARD BOUND Winter Conference resolve that UPWARD BOUND programs with a majority of black students be directed by a black person, preferably male."

[Mr. Charles Johnson offered clarification on the resolution to indicate that the intention was not to eliminate all white project directors. -ed.]

MR. C. JOHNSON: The intent simply is to have projects throughout the country headed up by person who are representatives of that majority group in the project and, as Preston [Wilcox] said, since we are dealing with black cats, we are saying black. But I say the inference there holds true for the Indians, which Dick Frost loves dearly, and the Mexicans and anybody else that gets hooked into UPWARD BOUND programs.

[The conference proceded to debate the substance of the resolution. -ed.]

MRS. BROWN: I would like to make a comment and try very hard not to let it develop into a speech. It seems to me there is a strong inference in the resolution that a black person because he is black will categorically be a more understanding, effective, efficient, meaningful director of a predominantly black program, and I question that. With my experience in education, I am certainly very sensitive to the needs of black youngsters, Indian youngsters, Spanish-speaking American youngsters, hill country white youngsters, very sensitive to the needs of these minority groups on the low end of the socioeconomic level to have image builders, to have path openers, et cetera, and so on, but I think we need to look critically at a statement that is saying that categorically because a person is one thing or the other that he will be less effective than somebody else. I question this.

MR. C. JOHNSON: You are doing an awful lot of infering. Number one, what we are primarily concerned here with is the UPWARD BOUND youngster. Now, granted, you get the wrong type of black in there occasionally. And I say, "So what." Very often we get the wrong type of white.

MR. CLARKE: I would like to also respond to the lady's remarks. I think that very much reflects an outcome of racism in the United States. The statement doesn't say anything about the qualifications of the directors save one. Now, if some project in Missouri or Montana feels it should find an incompetent director, then that is a function of that project. I don't think this question comes up in terms of white directors. I don't know why at the first drop of the sound of suggesting that a person in the position be black that we should immediately have to start talking about, "Yes, but he must be qualified."

The other thing is that I think what we are aiming for is a qualified black director, though I don't feel I should have to say that, but I do want a black one. I don't think I as a black one can properly identify with a white person whether he is good, bad, or indifferent. I can identify a little more easily with a black person. If he is a good one, then I will grow that much more.

* * *

MR. ROBERTSON: I do not like the resolution as presented. I think it is a weak resolution and misses the target. It won't do what I think has to be done for the UPWARD BOUND education of children in this country. If there were some way for UPWARD BOUND to see that the community has some control over what happens, that would be much more significant. Thank you.

MR. GOLDHAMMER: I am going to vote against this resolution. I approve what I understood Mr. Johnson to present to the Committee yesterday. I am going to oppose it because by implication I presume that if an UPWARD BOUND program has a majority of white students, as does the one for which I am administratively responsible, that there should be a white director. Now, it is very likely that I will be looking for a new director for our UPWARD BOUND program this year and I can assure you that there is no power on earth that is going to make me look exclusively for a white director of my UPWARD BOUND program. It is not only that I am restricted by the laws of my state from doing so, but I concur with those laws. I am going to look for a qualified individual, be he white, black, Indian, or any other color that you can find.

Incidentally, I think there are certain advantages in our majority program for seeking an individual who is not white to direct this particular program.

There is something else that bothers me in this resolution, and I don't think it was the one that I voted on yesterday, and this says, "A black male." I am not necessarily going to look for a male director for my UPWARD BOUND program. I am going to look for a qualified person regardless of the color of his skin, regardless of the religion to which he subscribes and regardless of the sex in which he was born, or modified to become. (LAUGHTER)

Now, I happen to be very proudly a member of a minority group, and because of the separatism perpetrated against my group they were burned in gas chambers. I don't want to be party to any such separatism in this country that might lead to the event that certain people who are actively literally achieving office, can repeat such a genocide. Thank you.

MR. C. JOHNSON: The only comment I would make to it is it doesn't categorically ask for a male, it says, "Preferably."

MR. McCREARY: I still want to try again to communicate what I had intended to the first time, to say that I would like to recommend that project directors, project defined as it is here be black, but I would not want to legislate it. I recommended to my Committee several months ago that I be replaced by September by a black director but I would not want it to be an order, a law, a rule that it had to be a black director. I think this would be totally wrong. I think psychologically it is quite correct, sociologically, psychologically, economically, quite correct to ask that it should be a black director but wrong to say that it had to be. Therefore, I would still like to suggest that the body consider a resolution that said something like this:

"We recommend that UPWARD BOUND programs with the majority of black students be directed by a black person," and you could still leave it, "preferably a male," because the same psychological and social reasons would still apply. Maybe I am way off base but I would like for us to consider a possibility of making a recommendation rather than sounding like we are asking for an absolute rule.

MR. GOTTLIEB: Let me try to clarify that for a moment. There is still some question that this resolution, as it is worded, meets with current Federal Rulings, Civil Rights Ordinances. We don't know that. But this is a group of people at a conference who, if they accept this, are saying that this group resolves and passes this resolution on to OEO and UPWARD BOUND and it then becomes a problem of the implementation for them. That is my understanding of it. So whether you say we recommend or we resolve, there is still going to have to be a business of how you really implement this.

MR. McCREARY: My point is still different. If UPWARD BOUND in general or OEO generally recommended this to the projects, I would approve it. If they tried to legislate it ... I am quite convinced it is illegal[and]... I will lead a revolution against it. It is a good recommendation and it is a crummy law.

MR. MORALES: I would like to focus the group's attention on what the reason for this proposed resolution was, and that was numerically we asked for a head count of black directors in perhaps 250 projects in which something like half, 50 percent or 51 percent of the students [are black.] When the question was asked, numbers anywhere from six to ten were given in terms of black directors, and I think this was the intent and this was the reason why this resolution came about. Two hundred and fifty programs with 11,000-odd youngsters[and only]six to ten black directors!

MR. FROST: There are, I am sure, many more black directors than six or ten, is that not true?

[The next day it was announced that there were approximately 45 black project directors. -ed.]

MR. FROST: I would like to vote for the resolution as stated by McCreary from Berkeley. I don't see these other implications. I don't see the reverse that somehow or another a program with 51 percent white has to have a white director. It does not say that. Mr. Johnson, who is party to its construction, said it had no such intent. My own view is that is irrelevant, however pungent a view it is. I would like to vote for it and I would like to call the question on it, as a recommendation which says to the agency that where there is a majority of black kids, on balance, it would be preferable to have a black director. I would like to vote for that.

[Mr. Eugene McCreary then offered a substitute motion modifying the original language:

["We recommend to OEO that UPWARD BOUND programs with a majority of black students be directed by a black person, preferably male."

[An amendment to the substitute motion, changing the word "plurality" to "majority" was accepted by a vote of 22 to 18, after Dr. Billings had offered his opinion that the distinction between "participants" and "observers" had become "a little foolish" and that everyone at the conference should be able to vote.

[Confusion was expressed from the floor concerning whether the term "black" referred to Afro-Americans or non-"Anglos". Mr. Alan Clarke offered this clarification: -ed.]

MR. CLARKE: Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that this motion is in line with a black position paper. It is only intended in its narrow sense to deal with black youngsters. I think one of the speakers was attempting to say, "Yes, but it should also apply to Indians, Mexicans, what-have-you." I think what that means is if in a particular project the plurality is black, then we should have a black director. If in another particular project the plurality is American Indian, then we should have an American Indian director. But it does not mean that in Project X we should add the Mexican-Americans to the Indians to the black and then say that they are a natural plurality, because then you wouldn't know what kind of director you should have unless you could find someone who was at once all three things.

[Someone suggested from the floor that following the vote, he would offer another resolution which would extend the sense of the resolution to other ethnic groups. The term "Afro-American" was inserted in the resolution before the conference to clarify the word black.

["We recommend to OEO that UPWARD BOUND programs with a plurality of black (Afro-American) students be directed by a black person, preferably a male."

[Mr. Bill Hasson commented that the conference had been using the word black for three days without requiring clarification. On the vote the conference accepted the motion by a clear majority.

[Dr. Gottlieb then read a resolution developed in one of the earlier group workshops:

RESOLUTION: "Many projects lack the necessary personnel to deal with the situations that involve the parents of the student outside the project. The meeting sensed that top priority be accorded to family and community liaison components in the present guidelines that deal with the relationship between the project and the community.

It is the further sense of the meeting that OEO develop whatever materials, resources and strategies appropriate to strengthen family and community components in existing programs where needed."

[The motion passed by a clear majority without debate.

[The next resolution considered concerned the ethnic group question which had been raised earlier.

["We recommend to OEO that programs with a plurality of any particular racial or ethnic group be directed by a person of that racial or ethnic group."

[Two themes were prominent throughout most of the ensuing discussion: the educational validity of the role model concept, and whether or not the resolution required, or recommended implementation. Was the conference deciding to ignore excellence in favor of the ethnic identity of administrators? Or was the conference urging that, other things being equal, the ethnic identity of the most dominant group of students should be reflected in the selection of a project director? - ed.]

FROM THE FLOOR: It seems useless now, I would still like to say what I think, and this applies to the first resolution and to this resolution. I said yesterday at the other meeting, that the skin color of a person does not either qualify him or disqualify him to be the director of an UPWARD BOUND program. There is a lot of talk about people with a dark skin color not being black, and I think it is equally true that a person with light skin color could be black. I think we saw this in the films the first night we were here. There was that kid in that program who was not Negro but he certainly understood and sympathized with black people. I think he would have been a great director of a program, and since this resolution excludes him, I think it is a bad resolution. I think it makes a lot more sense to recommend that parents or community representatives have a deciding voice in who is chosen for director ...

I think that this resolution is an injustice to the kids in the program because it is saying they come second to other considerations. I think it may be true that the color of a person's skin gives him an edge over another person. That is possible, and that should be taken into consideration but it does not automatically disqualify anybody or qualify anybody. I just can't help but see this as the ultimate in paternalism. I think you have to give a lot of credit to the kids in the program. They know and they can sense very well why a person is where he is. And it just seems to me this is the ultimate in paternalism and patting people on the head and saying, "You will grow up some day."

And I just think that the idea of doing something unjust to achieve justice is exactly what our President is doing and I don't see how it will help here, either.

MR. WASHINGTON: I would like to make two comments, one on either side of the recommendation. One is, I think it is pretty easy to see if you have a predominantly Spanish-speaking community that you are dealing with and you want to send someone there to deal with the kids and the parents that it is pretty difficult to send someone there who only speaks rudimentary Spanish ...

On the other hand, if this becomes part of our guidelines, and we submit the guidelines to the colleges and universities, what does this mean to our recruitment program? The colleges might very easily say that our director for the UPWARD BOUND project at Berkeley is Gene McCreary, who is white. It is real easy to keep a white plurality in the UPWARD BOUND program so we can keep Gene McCreary. But it might do something to the non-white kids in Oakland and Berkeley.

MR. LIPSKY: First, I want to ask if you would accept an amendment including the words "preferably male"?

FROM THE FLOOR: Yes.

MR. LIPSKY: We have to set the record straight about what we are doing here. We are recommending a certain policy which I value educationally, although some may not. But it seems to me, and the blacks here I suspect would hope, that when OEO is in the position of having an extremely effective director [of an UPWARD BOUND program] it is going to maintain and support that director fully. We change the resolution in order to make possible the fact that OEO could go along with it and accept those white project directors who have that excellence or those Negro project directors in an all-Indian program.

The point that seems to be lost here is that we are not doing what the rest of the country is going through. It seems to me we are being very sensible about things and we are not going about this whole discussion in terms of what the nation is thinking and what the nation is imputing to all the so-called Black Power groups. There are ways in which OEO can accept this resolution and accept the former resolution without kicking out the white project directors and without being paternalistic. In fact, this is the first resolution and the first body in the nation dealing with a problem of this kind that has not dealt with it in a paternalistic way. We have reason to feel, and have felt for two years, that the role model concept is a valid one and the black caucus made some very good points in this regard. I see no reason not to go along with this in the same spirit.

MR. GOTTLIEB: That is what we are waiting for.

MR. COHEN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I want now to reread the resolution which is before us and to comment about where we have come in these few days. The resolution says:

"We recommend to OEO that programs with a plurality of any particular racial or ethnic group be directed by a person of that racial or ethnic group," which means that a program with a plurality of whites cannot have a Negro project director. Now, isn't that a comment about what has come over us? When we think what this country has been through in the last 15 years and the impasses which gave rise to UPWARD BOUND, we are actually voting on a resolution which says that a black man cannot be the project director of a program which has a majority a plurality, of white students. That is an abomination.

MR. McCREARY: I didn't hear "can" or "cannot," I heard a recommendation. As in the previous one, I recommended the second. I approved the second as I did the first, the motion which we did pass. I am concerned about the point Ken Washington made that a director, such as in Berkeley, might try to get enough Anglos in his program so he could justify his job. That won't happen in Berkeley but it could happen very well anywhere if the minority communities continue to exercise the real strength that they presently are showing; in other words, it would be a fraud. I would hope that if OEO didn't recognize it as a fraud at least the minority community would recognize the fraud. I recommend passing the motion.

MR. NEWTON: It is amazing to me that you people are talking here on something that is just as fundamental as it can possibly be, and I can't blame the people who construed this resolution for not answering questions. This is the same hogwash that goes on all over the nation. It is a national disgrace that the OEO has allowed itself to be put in the same damn position that any other organization in the nation has done, and this is all the resolution is about. Why are you talking about something that is as fundamental as this? All of this is nothing but dodges. Why can't we be honest and lay it on the line? What we black people are doing here is just trying to get in on the action, just that simple.

MR. SULLIVAN: I agree with much that has been embodied in the report and, I think, the intent of the resolution. But I disagree with what I consider to be the monolithic judgment that is made. I don't think it represents necessarily a sound educational point of view, a sound sociological point of view or a sound any kind of point of view, philosophical or political.

I think we have spent a tremendous amount of time discussing relatively inane topics. When we have finally gotten to a point where there is something quite significant, of far reaching and social implication, we are in effect being railroaded through this session and, frankly, I would like to say I resent it.

I would also like to say one other thing. The assistant director in my program is a Negro. If he wants to direct the ship, he has got it.

MR. TURSI: It is hard not to be emotional at this point but I think I must be. This is the Goddamnest thing I ever lived through in my life. I look around at a room full of people that are allies in a common purpose and I find out now to undo one of the most voracious social injustices of all time that is what happened to the black man in America, our own system of ideals expressed and implied many times before today's meeting must be sacrificed. I think it is ill advised. I think you are opening up a channel of continual branding which is not only unnecessary but untimely.

[The motion was defeated, 21 to 23, when put to vote, but Dr. Preston Wilcox asked for a revote on the grounds that David Gottlieb had made a statement in the negative from the chair immediately before the vote. Discussion then began again. -ed.]

MR. McCREARY: I would like to speak to this motion. I haven't heard much expression at this conference for the Spanish surname people. They aren't a majority group nor will they ever likely be in our program at Berkeley, but they are a very important group of people and they are growing in determination to get justice in a society in which they also have been denied justice in a very pointed way ... This motion would make it possible that programs with pluralities of students with Spanish surnames might have directors who represented that group ... I think we should vote for this motion but I hope that OEO and the various peoples in America will not permit it to be abused to keep in office people who really are not representative of the young people they are trying to help.

MR. BALZER: I would like to say that this is not an absolute, but a statement of intent. I think what it is showing is a movement of black consciousness and I think this movement is wrought with certain difficulties and the difficulties have been enumerated and emotionally enumerated. But I think that what is really needed is to go along with a very important resolution of showing intent.

FROM THE FLOOR: If I thought that this motion were just a statement of intent or concern that black people or other minority people get a bigger piece of the action, I think some of us who voted against it would have voted for it, but it isn't that.

MR. McCREARY: We passed the first motion in good faith after consideration, and I feel that it was rather strongly supported. I do think it would be very, very wrong to go out of here without the second motion. I would hate to go back to Professor Antonio Romane at the University of California at Berkeley and hear him say to me, "Gene, I see you supported a motion there which would give due justice to black leaders but what did you do there to do justice for the leaders of the Spanish-speaking community?" I think we have to do this. I don't think it is going to change the world but it ought to change the world a little bit in intent. (APPLAUSE)

[On the next vote, the motion passed without the need for a hand count.

[A brief discussion followed concerning the desirability of greater OEO activity in enforcing sections of the guidelines on host institutions. -ed.]

MR. BONNIWELL: Yesterday when we were discussing this in this room, we had some further concerns after we had dealt with this issue. I have another resolution which I would like for us to consider. It may be typically only a Southern problem, but I fear it is a national problem, and that is: "Be it recommended that the strength and forces of OEO be brought to bear more forcefully in the guidelines in a more direct and forceful manner upon host institutions who accept an UPWARD BOUND program and their attendant and advisory councils, et cetera; that is, everything that goes with UPWARD BOUND when it is received, and necessary and appropriate authority to handle and enforce all programs, administrative policy, including the employment and supervision and, when appropriate, termination of personnel."

I am saying that I think we need to be more forceful in empowering UPWARD BOUND programs through their administrative staff, committees and councils to do the job the guidelines say they are to do rather than capitulating to the host dean or the host president when he wishes to put a social science professor in, be he qualified or unqualified, or tell us when we can and when we cannot have a dance, or whatever the problem is.

MR. FROST: Mr. Chairman, I don't have a lot to say about that but I have an uneasy feeling that that is a matter of 250 kinds of testy negotiation systems locally, and while I used to be a federal official, I don't really think I want the federal government announcing what some dean has to do because the dean has some clout that the federal government doesn't have. He just doesn't apply it next year.

[The recommendation was defeated by a clear majority. After some additional discussion of items to place on the Friday agenda, the session was adjourned at 5:30 p.m.-ed.]

Friday morning, January 19:

[The conference reconvened at 10:30 Friday morning, with Terence Spencer presiding. Mr. Joel Fleishman was scheduled to speak, but some time at the beginning of the meeting was allocated to continue plenary business from the evening before.

[A statement was made concerning an incident late Thursday night involving the house detective and other personnel of the Sheraton-Charles Hotel and New Orleans policemen. Early Friday morning, the house detective attempted to break up a peaceful and quiet gathering of conference participants and, after having been asked to leave the room, returned with law enforcement officers. The gathering had broken up by that time and the house detective, with reinforcements, then went to another room and accused the occupants of trespassing, in violation of a New Orleans regulation. It was requested that notice of this harassment of Negro guests be placed in the conference record.

[A resolution was then presented from the floor:

RESOLUTION: "We recommend that neighborhood groups be given a more effective voice in determining UPWARD BOUND policy. In order to pursue this, we recommend that OEO take steps to establish an educational planning committee composed of parents and members of neighborhood groups. We recommend that an academic advisory board be established to assist the educational planning committee."-ed.]

MR. FROST: Mr. Chairman, this is an old issue and a wide one throughout the Community Action Program.

I listened with some care to the particular words in the resolution. I think the implication is that policy control over UPWARD BOUND programs should be shifted from universities or the colleges to "educational planning commissions from neighborhoods."

I have two objections to that and I would urge with as much vigor as I can on a Friday morning and alone that this be defeated.

First, it is my judgment, after twenty years in the academic administration business, that most American higher education institutions will opt out of UPWARD BOUND if asked to deliver their policy control to anybody...anybody. They have delivered enough of that to the damned trustees, and so forth, that they work for and they are not delivering it to some local political group, whatever the title--educational planning commission.

Secondly, an issue about which I am a little less sure, but still have a feeling about, is that I really don't think that such a group would be especially more able to determine policy than having the university working with such a group. Now, I like to think that my own personal record on this is quite fair. I pushed very hard for a public advisory committee. I pushed very hard that they be meaningful and that they be used and that they not be charades of some kind or another.

We worked, I thought at least from our end, to see that that was the case. I do hope it is the case. But, I urge the defeat of a resolution which I think would result in higher education institutions merely saying that they have something else to do and would rather do it than to give what they feel as their birthright to some outsider.

MR. BALZER [The author of the resolution]: I think the resolution should be adopted and I think the reasons that have just been given why it shouldn't be adopted speaks, on the other hand, for why it should.

Yesterday morning, a great deal of time was spent talking about the urban crisis. One of the means that people talked about was to keep communication open between those participating in the program and through the neighborhood by an "advisory board."

I heard a lot of talk yesterday about advisory boards and how important they were in our program. I think, after hearing the last three comments, on why this resolution should not be supported, I am convinced that there is a great gap between what a bona fide advisory board really does and what we all might say it should do. I think, as presently structured, that advisory boards do very little--if anything--in determining educational policies, and, for this reason, they probably do very little in determining any kind of help from the neighborhood.

If anything has happened in these last three days, people have convinced me that there is a great deal that needs to be done in the way of getting the neighborhoods involved with the programs.

I think that speaks for the resolution.

MR. ROBERTSON: I would like to give a personal illustration as to why I want this motion, or something like it, to be considered and passed from this group.

As some of you know, I have been involved in a ghetto school in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn. ...As we got into the business of trying to reform that school, it was apparent to me that the school's administration was as much the adversary as anybody. ...We created an advisory board for our own project. We created that and got parents on it, got teachers on it, some of the administrative staff and some of our own clinic staff.

The administration has more or less owned that school for a long time and finally said so openly that they wanted us out of there. We are still there. I would tell you that we are there mostly because the community people in that advisory board wanted us to stay.

It wasn't so much that they were strong and vigorous, forceful and could make a weak voice heard, it was as much as anything else that being in that group they were something of a jury that they were voting on--between the types of systems of the university on one hand and our system on the other. They made a significant difference and I believe in it thoroughly.

I believe thoroughly that in the last analysis the community has to be responsible and this is the essence of democracy, as I understand it, and it is what black power thinks, also. I think that the essence of democracy, in my mind, is to get the control into the hands of the people.

MR. GOLDHAMMER: I would like to say that I am in favor, as a college administrator, of this resolution. I think that it would be a very salutary thing if we in educational institutions, particularly in our educational institutions, had to face and work with the public whose interest we presumably serve rather than take our characteristically public-be-damned attitude toward it.

MR. LIPSKY: It seems to me that we could agree that the goal of greater neighborhood involvement is salutary. In fact, it is part of the intention of the UPWARD BOUND program. I would like to see this component to the program strengthened, although I am not sure that we can dictate at this point the particular methods in which neighborhood involvement would be encouraged.

I am concerned that we may not be doing enough when all of the priorities are evaluated to strengthen the neighborhood group component.

[Mr. Lipsky then moved to amend the resolution to read:

RESOLUTION: "We recommend that neighborhood groups be given a more effective voice in determining UPWARD BOUND policy. We recommend that OEO take steps to pursue this."

[He accepted as an addition to his amendment a second paragraph proposed by Mr. Eugene McCreary:

["We further recommend that OEO encourage and support soundly designed community-based programs which use higher education institutions as resources but not as policy controling agencies."

[Mr. Richard Balzer, author of the original resolution, expressed approval of the amendments.-ed.]

FROM THE FLOOR: Last summer at UCLA, we didn't know that there was any other way but to include the community in our planning and we almost went down the drain as a result of some of the community pressures that were brought to bear in our project.

For one thing, there were three major recommendations that the community made. One was that as soon as the kids get out of line the parents be contacted to handle the situation.

Two, if after parent contact there was no change in the child's behavior, he be kicked out of the program.

Three, that the project be a summer school so that they could get credit for courses that they had not passed during the academic year. This would have meant that we would have had to run a regular summer school course with the text, the format, the schedule, and everything else.

This was our neighborhood advisory committee and these are their recommendations. Had we yielded to this, we would not have had an UPWARD BOUND.

MR. STEWART: The author of the resolution has just said more precisely than I could say it by saying that we are already responsible to guidelines. It is our responsibility to have an advisory committee. How we use this advisory committee is up to each and every one of us.

This resolution, however it stands at the moment, is not going to make me do this better. This is my responsibility and the advisory committee's responsibility. I am usually confused about things but I am more thoroughly confused right now about why this resolution. I don't see the need of it. It is something that we are already required to do.

...If we are doing what we are supposed to be doing right now, you know, this is not going to improve our performance, and I think that the resolution should be defeated. (APPLAUSE)

[Debate continued on the motion. Most of the remaining speakers did not oppose the sense of the resolution but some thought it was pointless to resolve to support an ideal that was already expressed in the guidelines. Others engaged in debate over the strength of the resolution. Was it merely a gentle endorsement of current UPWARD BOUND policy? Or, did the resolution require that OEO do much more to fulfill the ideal of neighborhood involvement?

[At length the resolution clearly carried by a show of hands.

[Before moving to the address by Mr. Joel Fleishman, a few speakers rose to repeat their indignation over the events of the previous evening. One speaker pointed out that he considered the black position paper confirmed in its observation that black Americans have "special insights" which make them particularly suited to administer programs for black youngsters. He pointed out that the "special insights" of the harassed group had prevented the incident from becoming an "explosive" one.-ed.]

V. THE WRAP-UPS

SUMMATION by Joel L. Fleishman
Associate Provost
Yale University
January 19, 1968 New Haven, Connecticut

For the last four days, in accordance with my instructions, I've been floating around listening non-selectively as best I could. Now I'm going to redress all the injustice of the past week which effectively muzzled me, and talk, selectively. That means that I'm going to select from among all that you said that with which I agree. So while I shall try to deal with all the topics touched upon in your deliberations, inevitably I will be making judgments. I've naturally assumed that my views are congruent with those of the majority, subject to proof of error during the question period.

On arrival we were confronted by Tom Billings with some five questions to which he was seeking answers. From time to time we've made meager explicit reference to them, but most often, because they certainly weren't talked about, they must have floated in our collective subconscious. Yet the discussions of the issues to which our attention turned repeatedly will yield to Tom --and to all of us--much better answers to the questions he posed than we should have managed had we addressed them directly. I'm confident that he will have more than 20 pages of ideas. For those of you who are inclined to contemplation, I will spell out at some length my theory of indirection as the most productive strategy for achieving results against opposition, whether active or inertial. But I'll do that another time.

I do think that it would be terribly useful at this time to spell out some assumptions about UPWARD BOUND which though not frequently articulated during the last five days seemed to me to underlie most of the discussion which has taken place.

What is the goal of UPWARD BOUND? To get poor kids into college and to give them enough of whatever preparation is required for them to flourish there. And I'm not talking about those poor kids who have managed to flourish despite the impecuniousness of their families and the inaccessibility of educational and cultural reinforcement to them. I'm talking about the college-capable poor youngster who, but for some intervention by an outside force, may drop out of high school before completion, or who, even if he finished, is unlikely to go on to college.

And it seems to me that the plain and simple goal of UPWARD BOUND is to get that youngster into and successfully through college. That's a limited goal, and it's easy to achieve if you attack it as a system. (I hasten to add that this is not the kind of system which Black Militants and New Leftists are constantly exhorting us all to attack.) I'm talking about the system comprising inputs to the youngster, the way in which he processes and acts upon them, and the outputs which we hope to result from the process.

Let's look at the output first.

In any child, what do you want to achieve through education? You want to make the youngster sufficiently confident in himself, sufficiently sold on his own worth, sufficiently assured of his own potential that he will both desire to participate in society and also acquire the competence necessary to fulfill the desire.

Of what does competence consist? Not only of reading, writing, and numbers, but certainly of these at the very least-reserving judgment for the time being as to how best to motivate a youngster to their mastery. You also want to train him to make intelligent choices--decisions--for himself and for his family, to make him into an autonomous human being capable of generating and sustaining a pattern of self-directed dynamic interaction with life throughout his lifetime.

Self-confidence. Self-pride. Self-determination. Autonomy. In that order, but in reality a circle. Because it's only as you allow a youngster to exercise self-determination that he's going to acquire self-confidence. And self-pride. And so on.

Let's remember that we're looking at this problem in a superficial way as a system. We've already identified our preferred output. What about the inputs? The family. The schools. The neighborhood. The peers. The church. The acquaintance with and information about people like whom the kids want to grow up.

And doesn't all this apply to all kids, not just black kids or kids with Spanish surnames, or Indian kids? But, on the other hand, isn't there a special need when dealing with these kids to compensate for the lack of educational inputs which middle class kids have in abundance to reinforce their self-confidence, to give them optimism about their future chances.

Isn't that in fact why there has to be an UPWARD BOUND? Doesn't UPWARD BOUND exist because the schools attended by poor kids don't provide them with an education which is predicated upon or productive of the self-pride--autonomy sequence? Doesn't UPWARD BOUND exist because the schools for poor kids discourage them from learning, if not from life, if not by design then at least by cause? Doesn't UPWARD BOUND exist because poor kids simply don't have within their immediate or vicarious experience very many successful people whom they might reasonably strive to emulate? Doesn't UPWARD BOUND exist to supply missing inputs or improve the quality of existing inputs so that the poor youngster can have something like the same things going for him that a middle class kid does? Isn't that what UPWARD BOUND is all about?

And if I'm right, if that is the substantive goal of UPWARD BOUND, can anyone doubt that the following are instrumental goals which have a high likelihood of resulting in fulfillment?

Can anyone really doubt, to use one much-bruited example, that a black Program Director will have an easier time gaining and holding the confidence of black youngsters--all other things being equal--than a white Program Director? Can it be seriously maintained that having a black Program Director would be harmful for the white kids in a program? Weighing those two issues alone, as matters of educational strategy, derived from a consideration of how best to motivate black kids without harming white kids, isn't it clear that where there is a plurality of minority youngsters there should at least be a Program Director of the same minority. Indeed, I think it would be safe to go further and state that the larger the representation of the minority in the teaching and administrative staff of the program--all other things being equal--the greater the program's likelihood for achieving success, as I have defined it, with its students. Not as a matter of grievances and not applied rigidly in every situation, but as a matter of educational strategy to be implemented by OEO as urgently as possible. As a distinctly separate by-product which is relevant to the questions of the first day, it is also clear to me that--all other things being equal--the larger the minority representation in the staff the greater the likelihood of a non-explosive summer in the program.

But perhaps the most important justification for having a minority Program Director is that that's the best way of proving to the minority plurality that UPWARD BOUND means what it says. If UPWARD BOUND exists to enable minorities--among others--to participate in the mainstream of American life, then it should symbolize in its structure minority participation in the mainstream, minority decision-making, minority autonomy, minority self-confidence.

Of course you look for other qualities, too, in the director and other members of the staff. Empathy with the kids. Diversity. Genuineness. Balance in views.

Is that such a radical notion? Is trying to accomplish that a terrible injustice? I simply cannot see that the issue is one of justice or injustice. It seems so clearly to me a matter of picking the right educational strategy to achieve the preferred educational objective.

Can anyone doubt that the curriculum in any school--teaching ability aside--will succeed with the youngsters in that school in direct relation to the extent to which it is rooted in subject matter that the students know about and are interested in? Surely today that's not a radical view with respect to how children learn, whatever their economic condition or cultural background. But doesn't it have a special relevance to UPWARD BOUND, which is dealing with kids who are several standard deviations below the median degree of interest in education? Isn't it incumbent on those of us who are designing the curricula in UPWARD BOUND that we go out of our way to see that the subject matter by which we seek to engage the interest of our kids, and by which we seek to train them in the mastery of certain skills, be relevant both to their experience and to their concerns? Isn't it for this reason incumbent upon us to explore, analyze, and help the students consider the problems which they confront everyday of their lives and the threatening circumstances which loom before them as they contemplate the future? And doesn't this embrace riots which may be occurring in the vicinity of the program or elsewhere in the country? Doesn't your willingness to confront these issues enhance your credibility with the youngsters, and prove to them that UPWARD BOUND is putting its practice where its mouth is? And doesn't the fact that you are willing to discuss the implications of violence lessen in fact the likelihood of its occurring?

But that's not the reason you discuss it. You do so because the best way to educate youngsters is to deal educationally with matters of concern to them. The challenge to education is to be more relevant to the goals and hopes of the kids than the extremists are.

Can anyone doubt that the students will learn more from and have more commitment to an UPWARD BOUND in which there is extensive student involvement in the real decision-making of the program? Let students resolve hostility by talking it out in groups. A much healthier program results. If your preferred output is a responsible, autonomous human being, don't you increase the likelihood of achieving it if the process of education enables the student to make real decisions, to exercise real responsibility, to act in a genuinely autonomous fashion? In fact, if you deny these opportunities to your students, aren't you saying that you don't really trust them, and that you don't really expect that they're going to be able to do things for themselves, that they are not justified in having confidence in themselves. Is that the message that we should be conveying to UPWARD BOUND youngsters whose self-pride we're trying to enhance? Furthermore, incidentally, if there is genuine involvement, won't the youngster's proprietary interest in the program stand it in good stead if the town does blow during the summer?

Further, can anyone doubt that it is impossible to work effectively with the youngster, if perhaps the most important influence on the life of that kid--his family--is working at cross purposes to those of UPWARD BOUND? Assuming for the purpose of this talk that most parents and guardians wish only good for their youngsters, isn't the most effective strategy for bringing about our preferred result in the youngster for UPWARD BOUND to involve the youngster's parents as closely as possible in all decision-making and planning for the program? Surely we can get the parents to view UPWARD BOUND not as a threat but as the central educational fact in the life of the child. And, as a matter of total educational strategy, shouldn't UPWARD BOUND really take as its own problems those of the youngsters' families, and turn every stone in order to solve them? Isn't that the best way of coupling the parents' efforts to those of UPWARD BOUND in the interest of the youngster?

And can anyone doubt that the involvement of neighborhood organizations serves as a terribly useful counterpoise to typical university inertia in the face of implementing the other strategies set forth above? Doesn't such involvement act to cool down both the program and the community?

And what about the schools? They're all the things they've been called, and more. But how much does it help to call them those things? Does all the rhetoric serve to make the schools more malleable for change or resistant to it? Ought UPWARD BOUND to be leading attacks on the schools frontally, or isn't it infinitely more effective to insinuate ourselves into the confidence of the school people by showing them what we can do with their kids? Isn't it really more effective to build in UPWARD BOUND a model of what education ought ideally to be like--a model that really works--and by involving the school people in it gradually change the schools? I am convinced for a variety of reasons that there is no other way to change an institution like the public school, because whatever takes its place has to use the personnel who now make it up, and they're the ones whose perceptions and methods must be changed. And I think we do it best by building models outside of the system, models which our ingenuity can make to work, and not by self-satisfying imprecations over its bankruptcy.

And besides, our goal really is to help those kids. And that must be your primary aim. We simply cannot afford either in justice or in strategy to make that secondary to reforming the schools.

Can there be any doubt either that with respect to the colleges it is better to bore from within to get the kids admitted, to get the right kind of supportive services, to get the right kind of curriculum, by having the college run the program, subject to all the stipulations above. Isn't it better to get them hooked because of their conscience and then drag them along, screaming if need be, but along nonetheless. There will always be enough faculty members to keep the hook in, but there will rarely be quite enough to put it in in the first place over the institution's opposition. Doesn't it make better sense not to give colleges an excuse to say "No" before you've ever gotten that hook in? Colleges, like people, will yield themselves more readily to seduction than to rape, even if they are told in advance.

And let's be clear about this, too. We want to change the colleges as well. But they'll never do it unless they're forced to respond to the presence of minority kids by changing their curricula to conform more to the model set out above. And the kids will never get in unless the college runs the program. And the college will never run the program if they are given an easy out. So where are we? Most colleges, contrary to what you have been told, are not running UPWARD BOUND programs because of any money they make. It costs them money, in fact.

Now, if all these strategies have been implemented, and for the right reasons, and a riot does occur, there are some specific additional suggestions which seem to me to have merit:

1.) Have prepared ahead of time, worked out jointly by the staff and the kids, a riot plan which takes into account all contingencies. To work effectively, it must be planned in large part by the students so that they feel it to be a response by them to the riot itself. Specific responsibilities should be assigned by the riot plan to each member of the program.

2.) Don't send the students home. The program is a safer place for them, and they will feel rejected if they are sent home under those circumstances.

3.) Make the kids feel safe, confident in their security.

4.) Orient the staff fully, and involve it in the riot planning.

5.) Arrange ahead of time for legal services access in case kids do get involved and arrested.

Now these are not new ideas, or even particularly well restated. They are all in the guidelines, and have been since the beginning. To the more than fifty programs I've visited over the last two and a half years, I've applied these standards at the request of OEO. Needless to say, not very many measure up in full to all of them, but all are effective to a remarkable degree with their kids. And would be much more so if they did.

It's a real tribute to Dick Frost that he saw these goals so clearly and laid the groundwork for their achievement, insisting within OEO and to the colleges that they move ahead in adopting them.

But institution-changing takes time, and it is much easier to accomplish with an established implement than with one that is untried. And I think that the time has come to act.

Let us make no mistake about the implications. Many of these changes will cost more money, and OEO, if it means what it says, will have to put it up. But that's easy compared to the other problems.

Let's not assume that because we have generally agreed here our goal has already been achieved. The greater fight for all of us is on the other side of that plane trip home. The policies recommended here must be implemented at Nineteenth and "M" Streets, N.W., and on every college campus at which there is an UPWARD BOUND. And it will not be easy. Yet it must be done.

And when we fail once, we must try again because it really is in our hands to see that the listening goes on. When there is real listening, non-selective listening going on, there is little likelihood of riots occuring.

It has often seemed to me of late that the role of the white liberal today must increasingly be that of mediation between the white and black communities. No longer is there need for us to prescribe goals or strategies for Negroes. Lord knows, there is no longer need for us to stimulate them to act in their own behalf. But there is need for the white community, the repository of power, to understand and act upon that which the black community is saying with increasing urgency. And in the 1960's, that is the most appropriate role for the white liberal. Expectations have now been raised, and cannot be brought down without bringing the nation down with them.

I do not believe that the issues with which we have been dealing can be, as one speaker said yesterday, summarized as a question of "your turn, baby." I do believe, however, that when you're making allocations of resources in society, and when minority groups have been so totally excluded from opportunity as have blacks in our society, it is not inappropriate to the achievement of societal goals to compensate for a time the totally excluded groups. Furthermore, some children will have to be denied in any event until the society begins to spend enough for all, and it really is just as painful for a black child to be deprived as it is for a white child. But there is an added advantage now on spending now on the black child. You get people going who, as they move along through education and into adult life, can serve as desperately needed models for other black kids coming along behind them.

The issue in our cities today is not between segregation and integration. No one will deny that integration is the ultimate goal for all of us, the achievement of that society in which all men can be that which their manhood and talent can combine to make them, that society which genuinely lives on the principle that a man can be ugly though he may be white and beautiful though he may be black. The issue today is whether our efforts to solve the problems of today must remain in such bondage to the goal of integration that even when there can be no immediate integration we make guilt-ridden and abominable our efforts to educate children now, even if in totally black schools. Isn't it a wiser psychology that accords credit to positive action to improve education now, even if because the sins of the past have been perpetuated in concrete it is inevitable that schools will for the forseeable future be all black.

Finally, this Winter Conference may, it seems to me, be viewed as a microcosm of what is going on in the nation today, except that we have dealt with only a small, a very small, piece of the action. I think the positions have been, on the whole, presented rationally and with calmness, indeed with a profoundly moderating spirit. Yet I firmly believe that if we can respond across the land as we have in New Orleans these last few days, then we may be able for the time being to continue seeking that problem for which there is no solution.

SUMMATION

by Frank M. Garcia
UPWARD BOUND Project Director
Chico State College
Chico, California

January 19, 1968

Dr. Billings asked me a few weeks ago if I would do the wrap-up on this conference. I was delighted to do so and have the opportunity to come here, to listen to you and to observe. A summation is really a simple matter for a lawyer. You listen to people, you jot down some notes, you go from workshop to workshop, you consolidate what you hear and you make a report at the end of a session.

This project, this conference didn't work out that way, really, because of the excellent means in which they had to homogenize it and blend it together with A-1, A-2, B-1, B-2. As the days went by, I began to get the feeling of frustration. You know, what am I going to report on? I'm not just going to get up here and say what you have all heard and what you have all discussed. You know what went on in the Canal Room. The people in the Canal Room knew what went on in the Jackson Room. So what do you do?

This morning Dr. Fleishman gave his wrap-up based upon his views, his own personal perceptions of the things that went on and how he saw it.

What I have tried to do, and many of you know this because I have buttonholed you out in the hallway or over a drink or over coffee or in your rooms or out on the street, and if I asked you to summarize this conference in one short paragraph what would you say? I tried to take my perceptions of your perceptions of this conference and put them together. And I wanted to make a few judgments on it.

You know, had I fully been aware of the task involved, I wonder, though, if I would have accepted Dr. Billings invitation to do this, as John says. Maybe I should have said no.

There are many unanswered questions yet out of this conference that have not been answered, but if any conference has accomplished anything, anywhere and at any time, it was this conference. I think that it will long stand as a landmark conference, it is and it will have national impetus, national implications. Maybe like the goals or ends of a riot, it has accomplished one thing if nothing else. Let me add that it has accomplished other things.

The one important thing, as I see it and want to talk about, is that it has brought to surface issues and matters that have to be talked about - - underscore have - - you have to talk about it - - here and now. It is not going to wait, you can't wait, there isn't time to wait, and most important, it showed that people do have the courage and the backbone to stand for their convictions - - what they want and what they ought to strive for.

Many of you feel, and this is asking you how do you feel about it, many of you feel that you don't have the solutions that you wanted. You want a formula. Riots are trouble. You don't want trouble. You don't want problems. Or, if you have got the problem, what is the solution to it?

Right now the solution seems to be to avoid trouble and you haven't tied these solutions up in a neat little package to take home with you.

Tuesday morning Dr. Billings asked us to address ourselves to certain issues which very briefly summarized, perhaps oversimplified, was this:

Is there any strategy or strategies that may head off trouble? Along with that,

Should we get involved in the strategies to head off trouble?

Out of the discussion, as I sat in these workshops and talked to people in and out of the workshops, a pattern seems to have developed. The first discussions were an attempt to ask what are these tensions? How they came about? Then the discussions moved on to certain strategies, or the word was strategies in the way it was used. Then, it developed into a discussion of philosophy or philosophies, and eventually - - what UPWARD BOUND was all about.

The tension. The way that I saw my perception of your perception of the tensions was that white America has been challenged, that white America has continued to pursue its course of racism, be it by means of active or passive persistence; not wanting to share its economic and educational opportunity, or by just sheer apathy. But, one way or the other, there is persistence on behalf of white America.

Black Americans can no longer wait. They have waited too many years now. Not promises, not legislation, they have been listening to this, they have seen this in the legislation, because these have failed, they want action - - now, today - - they want action.

The second development of discussions addressed itself to strategies. This, I think, was the greatest frustration for many of us because, as I said, we all wanted neat little packages tied up that we can put in our pockets and take home to our institutions. These are anxieties.

The feeling seemed to be that for the first time in history progress is being made toward living up to our responsibility in education. That conclusion covers about five pages of notes, my own notes that I have just to sum up this one conclusion.

But, the entry that kept popping up is: What do you do when there is a riot uptown? It boiled down to just about two prevalent feelings and these were: That UPWARD BOUND is strictly a college preparatory program, leave it that way and address yourself to that. That we have our hands full doing just that. That we prepare kids for college and that we prepare colleges for our kids.

The other prevalent viewpoint, summed up in a few words, is: It is here and it is now. The riots will take place and it will involve our kids. You are not going to ignore it. You are not going to sweep it under a carpet. It is going to be there.

One strategy that seemed to keep popping up, and let me point out that I don't necessarily want to sum up some of the statements or the feelings that were said in the discussions, but your perception, my perception of your perceptions of the entire bit, but two items kept popping up all of the time, not just in the discussions but out in the lobby and on the mezzanine.

That was: Student discussion. Let the classroom, let the UPWARD BOUND workshops be a place to verbalize feelings. Let the kids express their feelings. Talk out these feelings. Let the kids work out the strategy. Let the kids work out strategy, including the big problem of the student's worry about friends and family uptown who are right in the middle of it.

Another strategy that kept reappearing is parental involvement. That with parental involvement, there is community involvement, and maybe with community involvement the tension will lessen.

Many other things were said -- you all heard them -- there is no need for me to repeat them up here.

But, the most important strategy of all, if we can call it a strategy, was not verbalized. At least, it was not verbalized in my presence -- either in the discussion rooms or out in the hallways. What is that strategy? I call it understanding. Understanding as a strategy -- a narrowing of a gap. Anxieties being reduced. I am trying to define what I mean by understanding -- anxieties being reduced.

I can't help remarking of the several occasions during a heated, if not emotional debate, the parties would end up by saying, "Hell, we are saying the same things." That is understanding.

But, even more important, that the understanding involved an understanding of the built-up emotions that eventually spill over into rioting. The injustices, the hopelessness, the desperations, it finally erupts into violence. It is an understanding of these.

I think this understanding, too, was brought out in discussing philosophies -- in and out of the discussion sessions, like down on the floor of the lobby and right out here on the mezzanine, these discussions took place.

I feel that this understanding of riots and its causes, its philosophy, has been apparent to more outside, in fact outside of the discussion rooms than within. I sense that the anxiety levels have been reduced as a result of some of these discussions of philosophy. But then, maybe a feeling of utter futility brings about the same feeling.

One other item that is worth putting into this summation, and incidentally, I have edited this considerably in the last two or three hours, one other item that is worth putting in this summation and that is: It was mentioned numerous times, mentioned in discussions, but even more outside, outside of the discussion rooms I either eavesdropped on people's conversations by leaning up against a wall near a small group or near a table or just buttonholed them and put it right to them and asked them their feelings about this conference. I think that I got some honest answers. Just two people face to face and I think that I got some honest answers.

But the remarkable thing is the numerous times that the word honesty that I just used was referred to. So, it must have been important. Numerous times, so many people talked about honesty. So, it had to be an important factor here, I feel. Most stated that they were real impressed with the "real attempt at honesty." Several added that there was communication going on at all levels. Some referred to a "strained honesty." But, I wonder if this didn't mean a "striving for honesty." A straining for honesty, striving which might make it appear a "strained honesty." But still sort of an honest honesty -- if there is such a thing.

Finally, there were feelings that questions remained to be answered. This was rather prevalent. There were many feelings that questions remained to be answered. Questions such as: Parenthetically, we want little answers, little packages that you can take, you know, two and two are four, little packages, little answers to questions such as:

Are riots good or bad?

Or, this conference has not helped me with my problems.

Or, will this conference have a political or social impact on my institution?

These are the questions that seemed rather prevalent. If you want answers to them, you don't have answers for them. I thought about this. I thought about it many hours -- late until last night and early this morning.

And to this, I can address myself thusly:

If you go home with the feeling that we came here to prevent riots or to keep our kids out of riots and you wanted to find out how, then this conference has been a hopeless failure. If this is what you are going home feeling that you came here for -- I am not saying, I am making a distinction -- not what you felt when you first came but how you feel when you go home.

But, if you are leaving, knowing the task that we are charged with and realizing that no conference like this one has ever taken place, or even been attempted, and further, that your urban students are involved -- directly or indirectly, physically or emotionally -- and that the moral burden rests with you as a project director, then this conference is no more a failure than the Wright brothers first flight that went only a few dozen feet.

I would like to see a repeat of this conference. I would urge and call for a repeat of this conference. I would like to see it broadened, however. Not just urban crises but something that might be entitled: Human Relations Crises, perhaps. This is by way of openers. Where perhaps more people can be involved, more minorities, more problems in the area of human relations, because this is what we are here for, really. It is human relations.

If the human relations are solved then what we call the urban crises will be solved. But, there is more to it than just the urban crises.

I urge this. I call for this.

I am going to conclude with the statement that was made by Scott Hope from San Francisco State College. When I asked him, as I did so many of you, to sum up his feelings of this conference in a few words or phrases, he said: "Moral sensibility."

I wasn't sure what "moral sensibility" meant. So I said, "Scotty, what do you mean by moral sensibility?" Scotty said, and these are his own words, "A discovery of ways in which a moral crisis can be met." I felt that that summed up the whole philosophy here, the whole reason for this, in just a few words.

I would like to repeat that and these are Scotty's words: "A discovery of ways in which a moral crisis can be met."

Thank you very much.

SUMMATION

by Thomas A. Billings
National Director UPWARD BOUND
Office of Economic Opportunity

January 19, 1968

I didn't realize that I hadn't smiled in four days...

From my own point of view, this conference was superb. It served the purposes that I had in mind better than I had hoped.

I am delighted that we got at least one excellent position paper. I regret that we did not get more. I invited that on Tuesday morning and I was a little disappointed that we only got one--which was superb and perfectly in order.

I am delighted by your restraint, by your moderation and by your vigor. This has been, I think, the only conference that I have ever attended.

I am especially grateful to those persons who put this conference together technically and those who fleshed it out and pumped blood into it.

I owe a very special thanks to Mrs. Sandi McCorry, who was really the magician behind this. She has been working since mid-November to put it together. I just told her to put it together and that I would take credit for it if it was a success. If it went badly, I would kick her. She has done a superb job. She made all the arrangements; she made up the invitation list. I went through it now and then and she would argue with me. So, generally, this is her conference.

Since I am an emotional man, I cannot express my response to this conference without embarrassing myself and probably you, so please indulge me for not trying that.

The full text of this conference will be delivered to the National UPWARD BOUND Advisory Council shortly. They already know that it was planned and they know generally what it was about. They approved and they want the full deliberations.

Your formal recommendations will be sent immediately into the appropriate hoppers of government. I am confident that you will see your recommendations reflected in policy shortly.

Each of you will receive a copy of as much of the conference text as time and finance will allow. All of you will get the wrap-ups and a summary if nothing more in the way of printed material.

I regret the pain that some of you have experienced as a result of the location of this conference. There were reasons for my calling the conference here, but I am not sure that my reasons were sufficient to balance that pain. The incident last night will receive a formal and vigorous agency response.

I want to say something to my white colleagues--they should not overreact to real or fancied hurts and wounds.

Dick Frost suggested that some of you are still uneasy about a resolution or a recommendation that was passed yesterday. I want to make one brief response and perhaps clarify things, though I am weary and I am not thinking too well.

It is the one that reads: "We recommend to OEO that programs with a plurality of a particular minority group be directed by a person of that minority group."

I interpret that to mean, that all things considered, it is better if the Project Director shares the background of the kids he works with. I have always believed that. That position is not new to me. I have always endorsed that. That is all that it does mean to me. It makes good sense. A Project Director should have shared the background, as much as possible, with the kids he works with. He is in a better position, by life experience, to respond to their needs. I believe that.

We have 250 Project Directors and about 200 consultants and 23,000 youngsters in many colleges and universities who are involved in the deliberations here and the recommendations here. We are a small group in UPWARD BOUND--a very special and select group and we do not represent the whole field; though I did try to get every possible climate of opinion here.

Every Project Director will receive as full a text as possible of all that went on here. We can expect to hear from some of those who were not invited.

Unless there are some comments from you or questions that you would like to address to me, I would like to adjourn this conference...

APPENDIX: CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

Abbott, Wesley - Project Director, UPWARD BOUND Luther College, Decorah, Iowa

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